1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan Society

By

EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

INTRODUCTION

The bulk of the material presented in this paper was recorded in 1920- 101
1921 during my sojourn of nine months in Tonga as a member of the 114
Bayard Dominick Expedition of Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

This paper does not attempt a complete incorporation of all previously 114
published Tongan data but only such materials as seem pertinent to the [128]
discussion in hand. To some extent, therefore, the reader who desires detail will find it necessary to consult other publications. Of published works Mariner's Tonga Islands (40)[1] is by far the most extensive and possesses the merit of great accuracy and understanding on the part of its author. Doubtless Mariner's work is to be regarded as the standard by which modern work is to be checked. A comparison of Mariner's records with mine near the completion of my sojourn in Tonga revealed a surprising similarity in the two sets of data recorded more than a century apart. Judged by this standard the data recorded in this paper have a relatively high degree of accuracy in spite of 75 years of Christianity in Tonga.

I express my gratitude to the numerous Tongans and Caucasians, all 127
resident in Tonga, whose names appear in various places throughout this 124
work. A considerable number of people kindly put at my disposal manuscripts recorded by themselves, by their forefathers, or by their predecessors in office. Special mention should be made of the archives of the Methodist and Catholic churches, of the Tamaha's genealogies, which were kindly put at my disposal by Her Majesty, the Queen of Tonga, of a manuscript by the matapule Elia Malupo which was loaned me by the Prince Consort Tungi, and of the manuscript materials put at my disposal by the late J. P. Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu Island. By far my greatest debt of gratitude is owing to the Reverend E. E. V. Collocott of the Methodist church, who most unselfishly put at my disposal a considerable quantity of ethnological material which he had personally recorded with the idea of ultimately publishing.

The future progress of research in the development of Tongan culture 000
lies largely in the hands of the Tongan rulers. When they allow the

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[1] The numbers in parentheses refer to the list of Literature Cited (p. 351).

[p. 3]
[pp. 1-2 are blank]

held office but who bore the name Fatafehi, which seems to have been applied 643
indiscriminately to males and females. I think, therefore, that it cannot be 551
regarded as a title. I learned of no god bearing the name Fatafehi, a name which means "loft or litter of *fehi* wood," and which is said to have first come into use in the reign of Tuitatui, who was the reputed first builder of a house with a loft of *fehi* wood.

Thomson suggests, and I think rightly, that the Fatafehi referred to by [014]
Edwards and Hamilton (21, p. 52, footnote) was not the Tui Tonga. "Fatafehi at this time (1791) was an ornamental personage, inferior in dignity to the Tui Tonga, and in power to Tukuaho, who wielded the authority of his father Mumui, the Tui Kanokupolu." The late Tui Pelehake bore the name of Fatafehi. It is not improbable that the Fatafehi whom Edwards met bore also the title of Tui Pelehake. It is not unlikely that the name Fatafehi is associated with the title Tui Pelehake, much as the name Tupou is associated with the title of Tui Kanokupolu. The first Tui Pelehake was reputed to be the celestial paternal half brother of the first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu.

THE COURT OF THE TUI TONGA

The Falefa (Four-houses) and their matapule comprised a sort of per- 644
manent court to the Tui Tonga, building their four houses around his home. Their duties were to superintend the work in his garden and elsewhere, to attend him in general, to serve him, and to sit with him in the shade of the toa tree on his green. The Tui Tonga maintained them in food and clothing. The Falefa evidently exercised a considerable political influence. They notified the prince Fakanaanaa of his selection for elevation to the office of Tui Tonga, and similarly the Tui Kanokupolu George I after the death of the last Tui Tonga Laufilitonga. The political influence of these four ministers is shadowed forth sinisterly in a line of the poem about the murder of the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho (16, pp. 94, 96). Collocott speaks of the Falefa as the *hoa* of the Halauta (Kauhalauta, or Tui Tonga's following). This apparently indicates that Falefa might be used for the Tui Tonga's entire following as well as the four ministers mentioned above, a usage which perhaps parallels Fale Fisi (House of Fiji), the name of one of the great lineages. Falevalu (Eight houses) comprised the Haapai chiefs, Taufa Tofua, Fanua Lofanga, and Kava Moungaone.

Tradition tells of two sets of Falefa ministers to the Tui Tonga and of what is apparently an imitation in the court of the Tui Kanokupolu.

The first Falefa of the Tui Tonga date traditionally from the first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu. They were Tui Loloko, Maliepo, Tui Folaha, and Matakehe.

Special burial places for the umbilical cords of children of the Tui Tonga seem to have been made, as the following example indicates: 644 844

Pito o Papuni (literally, Umbilical Cord of Papuni) is a small mound on Fofoa Island, Vavau group, at the eastern point close to Hunga Island. Papuni was said to have been a Tui Tonga's son. The name of the mound indicates that it is the resting place of his umbilical cord rather than his body; in other words that it is a mound connected with his birth rather than his death.

A small mound of the same type is located at Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, Tongatabu, and contains the umbilical cord of Mafitoutai, a female.

THE FEMALE TUI TONGA

The Female Tui Tonga (Tui Tonga Fefine) was usually the oldest sister of the male Tui Tonga, and if she died the next oldest. She was appointed only after the installation of the male Tui Tonga who is said to have directed the choice. However, Sinaitakala IV seems to be an exception. The Female Tui Tonga remained in office until death, even after her brother's death and during the reign of her brother's son. She ranked her brother or her brother's son. 644

The long period between the Female Tui Tonga Fatafehi and Sinaitakala I listed below, arouses the suspicion that, like the Tamaha, the office may be of late creation and that the attribution of a Female Tui Tonga to the times of Tuitatui (about 1200 A. D.) and Talaihaapepe is a modern fiction based on recent Tongan practice (26, pp. 29, 46, 48, 49.) [114]

Brown (6, p. 453), quoting Fison, writes of a Female Tui Tonga holding office in 1890, evidently referring to the person who would have held the office had it been continued. An aged Tongan informant interviewed in 1920 had seen two Tui Tonga, as he expressed it. Actually he had seen a male Tui Tonga (Laufilitonga), also a Female Tui Tonga (probably Fatafehihaapai) who had died during the reign of the Tui Kanokupolu Josiah Tupou 1826-1845.

At Lapaha (Mua), Tongatabu, Takuilau, the residence of the Female Tui Tonga, was close to that of the male Tui Tonga at the site of the present convent. The scant list of Female Tui Tonga is presented below together with the names of the brothers who were Tui Tonga. The King numbers in parentheses indicate the sequence in the dynasty:

Latutama, sister of Tuitatui (11) 643

Fatafehi, sister of Talaatama (12) and Talaihaapepe (14). Buried in Langi Heketa, near Niutoua, Tongatabu. 644

Sinaitakala I, sister of Fatafehi (30). Buried in Langi Leka, Lapaha, Tongatabu. 173

Ekutongapipiki, sister of Kauulufonua III (31). 551

Sinaitakala II, sister of Tui Pulotu I (33). Buried in Langi Lotunofo, Lapaha, Tongatabu.

Sinaitakala III, sister of Tui Pulotu II (35). Buried in Langi Fanakavakilangi Lapaha, Tongatabu.

rank the head of the house, the seat *matuloki*, was given to him, the host, 592
if a chief, taking his proper place to the right of the ranking guest, if a 554
matapule, at *d*. If the host were a commoner and a chief should enter, the 574
host sat outside the house. If a man should sit in a place to which his rank 565
did not entitle him, the ranking man present, would order him to his proper 554
place. If a man should occupy a place inferior to his rank, he was invited 576
by the person seated at *matuloki* to occupy his proper place. As every man knew his correct place without being told, to sit in the wrong place was not only an error, but a presumption.

[342]

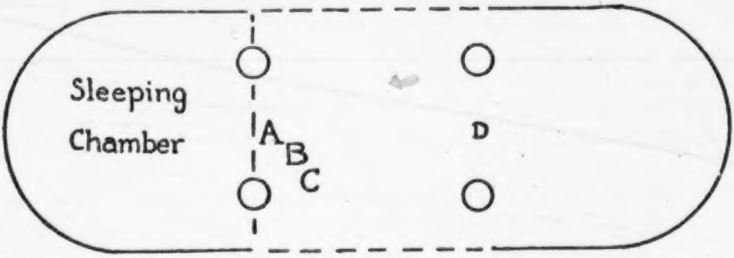

FIGURE 2.—Sketch showing manner of seating within the house: *a*, place of highest honor; *b*, place next in rank; *c*, place for chief third in rank; *d*, place for seating matapule.

On ordinary occasions, in the representative household, food was not 264
eaten at any one place or by the household as a group. Each person ate where he chose, but always outside the dwelling house, often in the kitchen house.
On special occasions, as when guests were present, leaves or mats were spread 264
at a definite place and a seating arrangement was observed as shown in 574
figure 3. 554

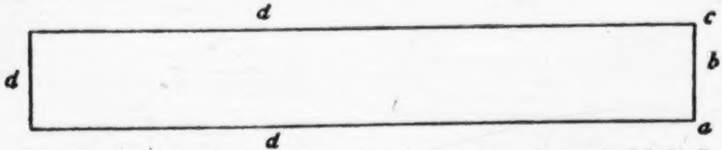

FIGURE 3.—Sketch showing manner of seating at eating places: *a*, *uluipola* (head in coconut thatch), reserved for the ranking person present; *b*, *c*, *d*, places of decreasing rank, called *tafaaki pola* (coconut leaf thatch at the side).

The structural differences in the houses of chiefs and commoners are 342
described by McKern (43). 114

The garment worn by men, women, and children of all social stations 291
was the *vala*, a rectangular piece of tapa wrapped around the loins and hang- 565
ing from the waist to the ankles or above them. According to one informant

On the morning of the sixth day the boys went out and bathed in the ocean. This 881
bath was called *kaukautapu*. Each boy took off his own bandages and bathed without 515
anyone's aid. When they returned to the shore the operator and two assistants met them 752
and redressed and bandaged the boys in the same fashion as formerly. This bandage is
said to have had no name other than *lalava*, or *haihai*.

There followed a big feast, although the operator was furnished free food throughout 881
the period. All the women ate by themselves; the men ate with the boys. The tapu was 574
lifted and this fact was announced to each boy by his father or male guardian. A present [264]
of oven products (food), mats, tapa, and other materials was assembled by the fathers [789]
of the boys and presented to the operator. Other ovens were opened for the general feast [593]
in honor of the boys. No present was given them. Even if a boy died from the operation, [431]
as sometimes occurred, the father of this boy contributed his share to the present
for the operator. The boy was always believed to have died because he broke some one [761]
of the tapus. After this feast, the tapus were resumed for four more days and nights. [784]
Bandages, like the first, were worn for two weeks after this feast. The tapus are said to [752]
have had no names.

MARRIAGE

Collocott (12) has published a brief account of marriage in Tonga, but 58
it seems worth while to present my data here, as they are fuller in some 114
particulars.

Marriages are classified as *feofaaki* (for love), *aleai* (arranged) and *fatongia* 581
(duty), this last term applying only to cross-cousin marriages. To 595
marry two wives at one and the same time is called *hamaua*.

Wilson (66, p. liv) states: [837] [689]

> Polygamy is established, but adultery is punished with death.
>
> The lascivious practices which are almost universal there [Georgian Islands] seem 548
> to be usually restricted here to common prostitutes of the lowest class. [171]

The Tongan term for prostitute is *muitau*. It is perhaps to such a [837]
person that the term *finelangatotoa* (a woman who steals home from her
paramour's house before the break of day) would be also applied.

The principal relative concerned with marriage plans of young people 584
is the father's sister. She may often take upon herself the ordering of the 604
marriage arrangements of her brother's children and may veto their plans
of marriage and impose her own. A girl destined to become the wife of 584 622
a chief wears two long tresses, one on each side of her head. 302

As mentioned by Collocott (12, p. 222) an oven of food (*veifua*) is 585 543
presented to the bride by her brother. 431

The sororate (*tongipou*), following the death of the wife, was practiced 587
in Tonga but the levirate was said to be infrequent. Cross-cousin marriage 582
of a man to his mother's brother's daughters was common among [622]
chiefs, but rare among commoners. A girl who becomes the bride of her [565]
cross cousin is denoted by the term *kititama*. Marriage to identical cousins
was regarded as improper. The only such marriage recorded was on Ata
Island where were also a considerable number of cross-cousin marriages

(36, vol. 1, p. 301) refer to a Tongan king, apparently about the twentieth 266
Tui Tonga, who was a cannibal. An unusual form of cannibalism is re- 643
vealed in the story of the Tui Tonga Takalaua and Kauulufonua I. Two 175
assassins were carved to pieces alive and their raw flesh served as relish [276]
for the kava drinking (26, p. 34). Bamboo knives were used as carvers. [687]
A story about the deity Hikuleo (op. cit. p. 192) refers also to the carving [412]
alive of children for food. See page 312 for the reference to a cannibal 000
god of Samoa who was ultimately slain himself and eaten by the son of a
Tui Haa Takalaua.

ENTERTAINMENT

Tongan entertainments have been well described by Cook and sub- 535
sequent writers. By far the best general account of Tongan dances is given [114]
by Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 74-86). Some scraps of additional information
are presented here.

At the wedding of the present queen of Tonga the following dances 585
were performed: the *kailau*, an Uvean dance by men, in which small 535
paddles called *kaupaki* are used; *mauluulu*, a Samoan dance; *meke*, a Fijian [177]
dance; *tau fakaniua*, a Niuatoputapu dance; *lakalaka*, a Tongan dance, in
which the women were seated, the men standing. Every village put on a
lakalaka. The songs accompanying some of the dances told about the 533
queen's wedding. The songs of the Vavau people told about a recent
famine there.

At an entertainment which I attended at Taunga, April 2, 1921, a 538
poetic reference was made by a poet and his chorus to a visit I had made 533
in the forenoon of the day to the great vault tomb of hapless Talafaiva, 123
wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I (26, p. 37). Whether the poet spoke
extemporaneously or whether he knew of my intended visit, the reference
was cleverly made.

This entertainment, which was a picnic, was given us by the Governor 517
of Vavau, but the refreshments and entertainment were actually furnished
by Akauola, the matapule who holds Taunga as a fief from the king. About 535
twenty Taunga girls danced. They were seated in a row on mats outside
the sunshelter under which the food was served. The costumes were varied, [292]
consisting of leaves and flowers sewed to cloth and tapa, also bright colored
cloth garments. Plumes of red and blue material and guinea-hen feathers [301]
were worn in the hair of some of the dancers. The exposed portions of the [302]
body were oiled.

All were sitting dances with the exception of two which seemed to be endurance contests. They were performed by pairs of girls, a man joining in apparently to urge on the girls. In one of these dances the feet were

TONGAN RELIGION

SOURCE OF INFORMATION

My notes on the ancient religion of Tonga are scant, as might well be 128
expected 75 years after the complete Christianization of the country. The [797]
material here presented is in part supplementary to that already published
(26). Some of it is amplification of published materials by Collocott and
others.

Collocott (9, pp. 152-163, 227-240) has so thoroughly portrayed the char- 114
acteristics of the principal gods of Tongatabu that there is little left to do
except supplement his account with further details. Farmer (23, pp. 125-
146) also gives a brief sketch of the principal Tongan gods and of the
functions of the priests. Most of Farmer's information was obtained from [115]
the Reverend John Thomas, a Methodist missionary. The nature of the
gods is well handled by Mariner, Farmer, and Collocott.

PULOTU

772
Pulotu, the unseen world, and domain of the god or goddess Hikuleo (23, 775
p. 132), was believed to lie to the westward and to be reached by sea. A [779]
number of stories are told of voyages (26, p. 153) to Pulotu. There seems
to be a certain tendency among modern Tongans to identify Pulotu with the
underworld, Lolofonua. Pulotu is also identified by some modern infor-
mants with the cemetery or graveyard. Anciently, it was thought that a [776]
living man might visit Pulotu to recover a dead wife (26, p. 183), and that
Hikuleo would assemble the spirits so that the wife might be selected, also
that Hikuleo would then re-animate the visitor, so that he might return to
the earth.

Among modern Tongans who regard Pulotu as equivalent to the under- 775
world, two entrances are pointed out. One of them consists of a deep hole 823
on the island of Koloa, Vavau, a hole which mythology says was the opening 772
by which fire was brought from the underworld to this world by Maui
Kisikisi. The second opening to Pulotu, in its modern identification with
the underworld, is through the volcano in the island of Tofua. People who [761]
formerly lived on Tofua report that whenever someone died in the Haapai
Islands, crying or singing would be heard at the volcano. If crying is heard
to-day it is interpreted to mean a dead sinner; if singing, a good Christian
on his way to Pulotu. There are three divisions of Pulotu called Pulotu 775
Tete, Pulotu Akaaka, and Pulotu Tuumau. The following quotation is from 772
Watkin (61):

> They have some idea of the future existence of the soul, but it is obscure indeed. There exist notions among them which savour something of the Hindoo notion of successive births in the future world, two deaths awaiting them after that endured in this world when they are freed from further mutation. The heaven they calculate

114

[For data on the voyage of the _Port au Prince_ from England to the Tonga Islands, see Category 116, pp. 1-38.]

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177, 114, 123, 609

[For information on the activities, treatment and influence of Mariner on Tonga culture, see Category 727.]

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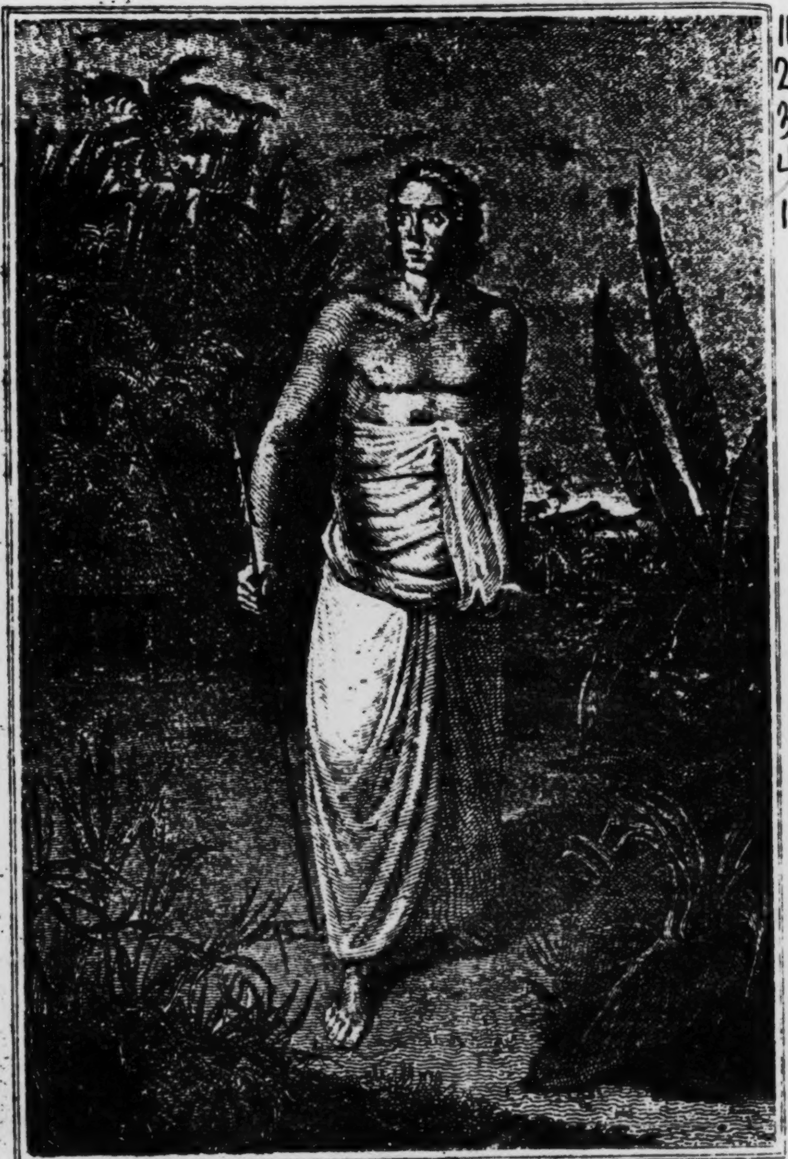

Mouchet pinx. Bragg sc.

Mr. MARINER in the COSTUME of the TONGA ISLANDS.

[facing p. iii]

London Published Feby. 2. 1818. by J. Murray. Albemarle Street.

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PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

The flattering reception with which the 114 present work has already been honoured by a liberal public, and the appearance of a French translation of it at Paris, in November last, are convincing proofs of the interest, at least, which the subject has excited. Whilst preparing this second edition, it has been my good fortune to meet with an additional weight of testimony in favour of the facts related; and not to detain the reader with unnecessary matter, I shall at once lay open the source of this new proof of the strict fidelity of Mr. Mariner's representations. Jeremiah Higgins,

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a young man belonging to the crew of the Port au Prince *, made his escape from the Tonga Islands about thirteen months before Mr. Mariner, that is to say, after a residence there of two years and eleven months. Being very young, he was one of the first who acquired a tolerable knowledge of the language; he practised their dances, and learned their songs;—and although he had not the advantage of those better opportunities which fell in Mr. Mariner's way, and consequently is not so intimately acquainted, in certain points of view, with the political sentiments, and moral notions and habits especially of the higher classes of the natives, which the superior education of the latter, as well as his relative condition among the Tonga chiefs, rendered him more apt to acquire;—still, the information obtained from Higgins must undoubtedly be considered valuable, if only regarded as generally corroborative, and in a few instances

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* He served on board this vessel in the capacity of what is technically termed a landsman, and was then about fifteen or sixteen years of age.

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somewhat corrective of Mr. Mariner's statements.

For three or four years (until December last) Jeremiah resided with his father, an old inhabitant of the town of Aylesbury, a man well known, and much respected; and in the employ of many farmers in the county as a hay-binder. Some time after the publication of the first edition of the present work, a copy was sent to Jeremiah, with a request, that he would particularly remark and make a memorandum of whatever he conceived not to be correctly stated. In the month of November last, Mr. Higgins, the father, happening to be in town upon some business, called to inform me, that his son had been exceedingly pleased with the perusal of the work, particularly as it served to corroborate many things which he had previously related to his friends and neighbours, and to which he had reason to think they did not always give the credit that was due; insomuch that he began to be heartily tired of answering their numerous inquiries. Among those to whom he had given the

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most information prior to the publication of the work was Mr. T. Woodman, a very respectable and intelligent farmer, residing at Stone, near Aylesbury. As this gentleman had also read the book, I wrote to him to request the favour of his sentiments, with regard to the two unconnected sources of information, which had fallen in his way. From the answer which he obligingly sent me, dated Stone, 4th December, 1817, I beg leave to extract the following paragraph, as bearing immediately upon the subject.

" I most certainly have many times, be-
" fore your publication appeared in the
" world, asked Jeremiah Higgins many
" questions respecting the inhabitants of
" the Tonga islands; but as he is a
" young man of a reserved disposition, the
" communications he made were always
" desultory, unconnected, and confined.
" Yet I cannot have the least doubt, or the
" least hesitation in saying, that in the ac-
" counts he gave, he spoke of the very
" same people, and of the very same inci-
" dents, which are related by Mr. Mariner,
" in the work you have recently publish-

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"ed. He spoke to me of the capture of "the vessel he sailed in: of the siege and "reduction of the Tonga great fortress: of "the effects of the great guns: of the panic and consternation thence produced: "of their religious and political convocations, &c. &c., which are events so "exactly detailed and portrayed in the "work you have given, that I find not the "least difference between the one and the "other, save that the accounts given by "Mr. Mariner are more amplified, and "better arranged in bearing reference to "the religious and political proceedings "relating to their society."

That no source of information or of satisfactory proof might be left untried, I engaged Jeremiah Higgins to come up to town, and now it was, for the first time, that he and Mr. Mariner met, since their separation at the Tonga islands. He remained with me till the latter end of December, and I had abundant reason to be satisfied with the accordance between his several statements, extracted from him by various questions, and those which I had

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formerly received from Mr. Mariner. 114 When they spoke the Tonga language together, I noticed the similarity of their pronunciation and accent: when Higgins sang and exhibited some Tonga dances in presence of several of my friends, whilst Mr. Mariner also sang and beat time according to the native method [*], we were struck with the accuracy of the description of these amusements in the "voyages of Captain Cook." But to be brief, however satisfied I have hitherto been with Mr. Mariner's details, I issue this second

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[*] To give greater effect to the scene, Mr. Mariner was [291] dressed as represented in the frontispiece, and Higgins's only apparel was a sort of circular apron, made of loose strips of matting very thickly set, and at the top plaited so as to form a band round the lower waist, (the pelvis) from which the strips hung down nearly to the knees: this was to represent the apron of the leaves of the *chi* tree, used by the natives on such occasions. He had also a wreath of artificial flowers round the head, and another round the neck. He is [304] beautifully tattowed from the hips nearly to the knees, agreeably to the custom of the Tonga people. Upon them it appears of a black colour, but upon a white man it causes the skin to resemble soft blue satin. The neatness, and I might almost say, the mathematical precision with which the pattern is executed, far surpasses the expectation of all who see it for the first time.

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edition with a twofold confidence, for now 114 I can assure the candid reader that, endeavouring to divest my mind of all prejudices, I have carefully and assiduously questioned Jeremiah Higgins, at various times, with regard to the events at the Tonga islands while he was there, and the manners and customs of the people, and have always found his answers (though for obvious reasons somewhat more confined) yet so consonant and agreeable, as far as they went, with Mr. Mariner's accounts, that I feel quite certain of the truth of the great outlines of the matter contained in the following sheets, and the highest degree of confidence in all the details. Such is the additional testimony which the present work has obtained, and I flatter myself that I have used all the means within my reach to render it, if possible, worthy of the honour which public approbation has already bestowed upon it.

A complete account of all the different 000 tribes inhabiting the islands of the Pacific Ocean would no doubt form a most interesting portion of human history, and

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selves give them, viz. "Tonga," or, the Tonga Islands*. 101

As I presume it would be unnecessary 114 to offer any apologies for presenting to the public the following account of a people, of whose government, religion, customs, and language, so little has hitherto been published†, I shall proceed at once to give a simple statement of the circumstances which first gave rise to it, and the authority under which it has been conducted.

In the year 1811 I accidentally heard that Mr. William Mariner, the bearer of a letter from the East Indies to one of my connections in London, had been a re-

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* These islands, therefore, consist of the island of Tonga, which gives name to the whole, the cluster called the Hapai islands, and the island of Vavaoo. See the Map.

† The accounts of circumnavigators are imperfect by reason of the shortness of their stay; of these, however, Captain Cook's is the most accurate. The missionaries might have furnished us with more intimate details, but their accounts relate rather to the history of their mission than that of the natives. One of them, an anonymous writer, in a small volume entitled, "A Four Years Residence at Tongataboo," gives a very imperfect account of the people, himself being the chief subject of his narrative.

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sident at the Friendly Islands during the space of four years; and, my curiosity being strongly excited, I solicited his acquaintance. In the course of three or four interviews I discovered, with much satisfaction, that the information he was able to communicate respecting the people with whom he had been so long and so intimately associated was very far superior to any thing that had yet appeared before the public. His answers to several inquiries, regarding their religion, government, and habits of life, were given with that kind of unassuming confidence which bespeaks a thorough intimacy with the subject, and carries with it the conviction of truth:—in fact, having been thrown upon those islands at an early age, his young and flexible mind had so accorded itself with the habits and circumstances of the natives, that he could not feel any disposition to overrate or embellish what to him was neither strange nor new. To my inquiries respecting his intentions of publishing, he replied, that having necessarily been, for several years, out of the habit either of writing or reading, or of that turn of thinking requisite for composition and arrangement, he was apprehensive his endeavours would fail in doing that justice to the work which I, seemed to think its importance demanded: he modestly proposed, however, to submit the subject to my consideration for a future opportunity. In the mean while circumstances called him away to the West Indies: on his return he brought me memoranda of the principal events at the Tonga islands, in the order in which they had happened during his residence there, together with a description of the most important religious ceremonies, and a vocabulary of about four or five hundred words. The inspection of these materials served greatly to increase the interest which I had already taken in the matter, and I urged the necessity of committing the whole to paper while every thing remained fresh in his memory. To facilitate this object, I proposed to undertake the composition and arrangement of the intended work, whilst Mr. Mariner should direct his view solely to noting

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down all that he had seen and heard as his 114
memory might spontaneously furnish it, in order that these materials might afterwards be made, from time to time, subjects of conversation, strict scrutiny, amplification, arrangement and composition. Not one of the ensuing pages has therefore been written without Mr. Mariner's presence, that he might be consulted in regard to every little circumstance or observation that could in the smallest degree affect the truth of the subject under consideration: and, in this way, it is presumed that a great deal more useful and interesting matter has been elicited than would probably have occurred to him through the medium of his own unassisted reflections; for conversation calls to mind many things that would otherwise have escaped the memory, it constantly demands elucidations; one idea gives birth to another, until the whole subject lies completely unfolded to the mind.

With regard to arrangement: in the 128
first place is related an account of the 126
voyage of the Port au Prince, it being

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000 these enlightened days, at least a laudable undertaking; but to bestow much time and pains upon an investigation of the principles of a barbarous language, like the one in question, will, no doubt, in the eyes of many persons, appear more curious than useful; and how far such a view of the subject may be correct, every reader will judge for himself; to me it appears almost as great a deficiency in the history of a nation to overlook the structure of its language, as to neglect any portion of its
122 moral or political character. In taking,
114 for example, the Tonga people, Mr. Mari-
121 ner could only arrive at a thorough knowledge of their religious, political, and moral character, and the spirit of their religious and political sentiments, through the medium of their language, for all accounts that had been given of them were little better than bare descriptions of outside appearances, every thing else, for want of this same medium, being founded in mere conjecture: so it is easy for a traveller to give an accurate description of the outside of a building, to which he has no admit-

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tance, and make some rude guess as to its 122
interior form; but the object of the pre- 114
sent work is chiefly to describe the inside 121
of this structure, that the reader may see
the form, dimensions, ornaments, and general merit of its various passages and
apartments, to which the Tonga language
is in this instance the master-key, and is
here offered to all whom accident or design
may lead to the same spot, that they may
make the same researches in much less
time, and with much less hazard and difficulty, than it originally cost the first investigator: and it certainly must be considered some proof of the uprightness of
Mr. Mariner's intentions, and of his consciousness of the accuracy of his details,
that he readily consents to put into the
hands of others the easiest method in his
power of satisfying themselves of the truth
of what is told them.

There are other points of view, in which, 121
I think, the importance of this subject may be seen: a knowledge of the language helps to throw a considerable light in the path of those who choose to investi-

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As it is a matter of the highest importance that Mr. Mariner's qualifications as a narrator of what he had seen and heard should be known to the public, in order that a proper judgment may be formed of the degree of credit to be attached to the present volumes, I shall here give a short account of his education and of his habits, as far as they may bear more or less upon the subject in question.

His father, Mr. Magnus Mariner, who is still living*, was formerly the owner of a hired armed vessel, of which he was also the commander, and served in this capacity under Lord Cornwallis, in the American war. About that period, having sustained some severe losses in the American trade, he returned to England, married, and resided in London. He has had several children, the second of whom is William, the subject of our present memoir, who was born at Highbury Place, Islington, September 10, 1791. At an early age his father sent him to Mr. Mitchel's

* Resident at No. 14, Johnson Street, Commercial Road.

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Academy, at Ware, in Hertfordshire. After remaining there five or six years, with the exception of the vacations, he returned home at the age of thirteen, in consequence of the death of Mr. Mitchel. The advantages he had already derived from his education were considerable: besides the common acquisitions of reading, writing, and arithmetic, he had made much progress in his knowledge of history, geography, and the French language, and also some advance in the first rudiments of the Latin. His father being of opinion that his education was already sufficient for the line of life he meant him to pursue, *i. e.* the sea, resolved to keep him at home till something suitable and advantageous should offer. William, however, was not very anxious for a mere maritime life, and his mother being wholly averse to it, his father was at length dissuaded from his intention, and placed him in the office of a friend of his, Mr. Harrison *, a respectable attorney, with whom he was to remain a few months previous to articles being

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* Late of Burr Street, Aldgate.

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114 signed. Six weeks had scarcely elapsed before an event happened, which, though trifling enough in itself, served to make a complete change in his future prospects.

Captain Duck, who had formerly served his apprenticeship to William's father, was about to sail in the Port au Prince private ship of war*, belonging to Mr. Robert Bent†, of London. This vessel had a twofold commission; if not very successful in her cruize for prizes within certain latitudes, she was to double Cape Horn, and proceed into the Pacific Ocean in search of whales. Captain Duck before his departure came to take leave of William's father: after dinner, the conversation naturally turned upon the ensuing voyage, when Captain Duck, who was a man of very sanguine expectations, spoke with great confidence of speedy success and an early return, and gave such flattering descriptions of that mode of life, that William was quickly possessed with the

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* Of nearly 500 tons, 96 men, and mounting 24 long nine and twelve pounders, besides 8 twelve pound carronades on the quarter-deck.

† Now of West Moulsey, near Hampton-Court.

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strongest desire to accompany him. Captain Duck offered him the greatest encouragements, and the consent of his father being obtained, he took him on board in a few days, under his immediate protection. The events of the voyage, and other particulars subsequent thereto, will be seen hereafter. During that time he acted in the capacity of captain's clerk, which though not an usual office on board a privateer, he chose for the sake of employment.

Such simply is an account of his education, and of those early circumstances which laid the groundwork for future and more extraordinary events. With respect to his character, I may from good authority give some account of him while yet at school *. At this early period he shewed evident proofs of a mind very susceptible of external impressions, disposed to activity and

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* The authority I here speak of is my friend Mr. Whiston Bristow. This gentleman accidentally called one evening at my house, when Mr. Mariner was entertaining the author of "The Farmer's Boy" with some account of his travels. Mr. Bristow had scarcely taken his seat, when Mr. Mariner recognised him to be an old school-fellow, and most inti-

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fond of information; whilst from his habits and sentiments one would suppose him fitted for a life of change and adventure. He was fond of books of travels, and he used often to say how much he should like to live among savages and meet with strange occurrences; a disposition not uncommon among some young minds, but which those who are fond of presentiments will readily account for, in their own way. His sports and amusements were frequently those of an active, adventurous, and sometimes of a daring kind. With respect to the dispositions of his heart, suffice it to say, they are such as do him much honour.

The subsequent events of his life have made a considerable change in his personal character and external habits, insomuch that I have heard it observed by those of his friends who knew him formerly, that they could scarcely recognise him to be the same person. His love of

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mate associate. It need scarcely be added, that this event gave additional interest to his recital, and furnished me with the opportunity of becoming better acquainted with Mr. Mariner's character. This happened in the early part of my acquaintance with him.

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adventure has changed into a sedateness of character and disposition to rest and quiet, which may easily be conceived to arise from disappointments, and unexpected hardships and dangers, experienced at too early a period of life. He is rather taciturn than loquacious, and under ordinary circumstances much more inclined to speak of the events of his life as common occurrences than as interesting anecdotes, which happens no doubt from his early, frequent, and familiar intimacy with unusual situations; when, however, he is animated with social converse, he furnishes descriptions that are very interesting and natural. His memory is very retentive, and his account of things is exceedingly correct and uniform: of this I have had numberless proofs, and one in particular I shall mention. I happened to mislay the English version which he had written out at his leisure, of the speech of Finow the king on first coming into power: after the lapse of a few weeks, not finding it, I was under the necessity of requesting him to write another, which he did in the same method as before, by call-

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ing to his mind the original Tonga in which 114
it was spoken. Sometime afterwards I
found the first, and was much pleased to 114
discover so little difference between them, 128
that they appeared almost like copies, which sufficiently evinced the correctness with which he remembered the original Tonga, and at the same time furnished an instance of the characteristic uniformity of his expression in his own language. Two or three months afterwards I reminded him of the propriety of writing down in the Tonga language all that he knew of their popular tales, speeches, songs, &c. while they were fresh in his memory; he did so, and at a subsequent period when the dictionary of the language was in a state of forwardness, I translated them literally with his occasional assistance, and had a new proof of the correctness, as to sense, of what he had before given me of Finow's speech, the English copies of which I had
all along kept in my possession. As a re- 114
tentive memory was a quality particularly essential to Mr. Mariner, under the circumstances in which he was placed, it is worth mentioning, that even when I be-

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came first acquainted with him he was able to read and translate French with considerable ease and fluency, although he had scarcely seen a French book, or spoken French since he had left school, a period of nearly eight years, during four of which he had resided among an uncivilized people, and had been constantly practising their language. But, however excellent may be his memory, it would avail but little, if he had only seen a great deal without noticing much; I am very happy therefore to have it in my power to give some decided proofs that he possesses also that very valuable quality in a traveller, a spirit of observation.

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Early in the month of May last, "Campbell's Voyage round the World" was published at Edinburgh, a considerable portion of which work is occupied in describing the manners and customs of the Sandwich islands, where the author resided about thirteen months. At the period of this publication, the greater part of the following sheets was already printed off, at least as far as the grammar. On perusing Mr. Campbell's interesting book, I was not

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a little gratified to find confirmations of 114 some things related by Mr. Mariner respecting those islands, which as he had only been there about three weeks, furnished me with additional proofs, if more were wanting, of his scrupulous accuracy and attention. Having put the book into 000 his hands to peruse, he soon returned it to me, with the substance of the following observations: from which it will appear, that notwithstanding his short stay at those islands, he had made good use of his time, and that afterwards he did not neglect to obtain confirmations of what he had learnt, and farther information from a few natives of the Sandwich islands who were with him at Tonga; insomuch that he is enabled to state some things in the way of explanation which the before-mentioned work does not contain. I shall mention the different subjects in the order in which they occur in Mr. Campbell's book, paging them accordingly; and if that author, or his editor, Mr. Smith, sees any thing in Mr. Mariner's statements which he knows or believes to be incorrect, he will perhaps take an opportunity of stating his objections.

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000 ing proof how much a line of conduct, influenced by liberality and respect towards females, is productive of morality. [171] [562]

P. 206—7. The author here mentions a custom of the queen, that of preserving the bones of her father, wrapt up carefully in a piece of cloth, "*because she loved her father so dearly.*" Mr. Mariner saw these bones, and on enquiry, found it was not merely a custom of the queen, but a common practice among them.

P. 209. In regard to the question, whether the natives of the Sandwich islands are cannibals, Mr. Mariner is disposed to believe that they are not; those natives who were with him at Tonga always strongly denied the charge.

[114] These several statements, it is hoped, the reader will not think tedious: they serve as very fair proofs of the accuracy with which Mr. Mariner noticed what he saw, and the fidelity of his memory in retaining it. 128 Some of these statements, as before mentioned, are inserted in the body of the present work, and were printed off before Mr. Campbell's book was pub-

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lished: to these may be added, the knowledge 128 of the Sandwich islanders in the use of emetics and cathartics, as related in the second volume of this work, p. 232, and in Mr. Campbell's book, p. 174; and it is worth notice, that from the difference of the ingredients mentioned in the two accounts, it appears they are acquainted with more than one kind of each medicine. In regard to what Mr. Mariner relates OOO concerning the bones of Captain Cook, (see Vol. II. p. 62), it is rather extraordinary that Mr. Campbell makes no mention of any thing of the kind: it is possible the custom was dropped before his time, under the idea of giving offence to the English people. Mr. Mariner has no doubt of the fact, from the positive manner in which it was related to him by Hairbottle, and afterwards by those Sandwich-island natives that were with him at Tonga: perhaps Mr. Campbell can throw some light upon the subject.

Having thus far sketched an outline of 114 Mr. Mariner's education and early habits, and given some instances in proof of his

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114 qualifications as a narrator, it remains to
furnish a short account of the advantageous
opportunities which fell in his way.
In the first place, it must be stated, that
he was by far the best educated of all
those who survived the capture of the Port
114 au Prince. From the first moment the
123 king of the Tonga islands saw him, he conceived
609 a strong prejudice in his favour,
727 and gave orders to those who had the management
of the conspiracy, that if they should find it necessary to make a great slaughter, they were nevertheless to preserve *his* life;—this was the commencement of a friendship which lasted till the king's death: he gave him a residence within his own fencing; appointed one of his wives, a very sensible and well informed woman, to be his adopted mother, that she might employ her time in instructing him in the language and exact customs of the country: he admitted him to all his conferences with his chiefs, priests, and matabooles: at length he adopted him as his own son, and gave him the name of a favourite son, (Togi Oocumméa), who had

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died a few years before: wherever the 114
king went, Mr. Mariner might accompany 123
him if he chose: in all the battles fought 609
by the king, Mr. Mariner was present. 727
After his death, his son, who succeeded, equally extended to him his patronage and protection, or rather Mr. Mariner might be called his dearest brother, his constant, intimate, and confidential friend; and so sorry was the young king to part with him, that he actually proposed to give up his dominions to his uncle, and accompany Mr. Mariner to England,—a sufficient proof that the latter possessed those qualities of mind calculated to inspire a high degree of confidence and friendship. But perhaps I am anticipating too much of some of the subjects of the following sheets; it appears to me, however, proper to state these things, that the mind of the reader may be prepared, without mistrust, for the quantity of interesting matter which so young a man has collected and remembered.

It is now four years since Mr. Mariner's 114
arrival from the West Indies; during which

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114 period he has been situated in the counting-house of a respectable merchant in the city, where he is still. His health is by no means good: this and other circumstances have occasioned the work several times to be suspended for above two months together; for, as I have before stated, not a single page of it has been written, even from his own memoranda, without his presence, which, in general, I could only have in the evening, or at night, after the hours of business, and his health did not always admit of such additional employment of his attention. He resides at No. 5, Edward's-place, Hackney-road.

128 In regard to my own labour in the present work I shall say but little. I am sensible there are many faults, and though I am by no means disposed to trouble the reader with unseasonable apologies, I beg leave to state, that the following pages were not written in the order they were destined to assume, but at very uncertain and irregular periods, as the result of various conversations; that sometimes the vocabulary, at other times the narrative mat-

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000 obliged to be worked every half hour out of two. By this time finding she had missed Otaheite, 114 by reason of an adverse current, she steered to the westward for the Tonga islands, and on Thursday the 27th of November saw that part of them called the Hapai islands, bearing W. 12 miles. The leak had now increased to eighteen inches per hour.

On Saturday, the 29th of November, 1806, at 4 P. M. the Port au Prince brought to, for the last time, in 7 fathoms water at the N. W. point of one of the Hapai islands, called Lefooga, in the same place where Captain Cook had formerly anchored. In the evening a number of Indian 721 chiefs came on board with a large barbacued 609 hog, and a quantity of ready dressed yams, as a 114 present to the ship's company: with them came [431] a native of Owhyee, who spoke a little English, which he had formerly learned on board an American ship, that had taken him from the Sandwich islands to Manilla, and thence had brought him to the Tonga islands. This man, whose name was Tooi Tooi, and whom we shall hereafter have occasion to speak of, endeavoured, by all the means of expression that lay in his power, to convince the ship's company that the natives were disposed towards them in the most friendly manner. Another Sandwich islander, however, whom the Port au Prince had brought along with her, as may be recollected, 609 721 114 with seven others, from Anahooroo bay, declared his opinion that the Indians had hostile intentions, and he advised Mr. Brown to keep a watchful eye over them, and even to send all out of the ship, excepting a few chiefs, by treating whom in a friendly way, the produce of the islands might be procured. Mr. Brown, however, 114 disregarded this sage admonition, ordered the man to quit the quarter-deck, and even threatened to flog him—a treatment which the poor fellow little deserved, for his opinion of the natives was but too well founded, although his less honest countryman Tooi Tooi had spoken so well of them: and had not Mr. Brown unfortunately been above receiving good advice, the Port au Prince might again have reached England in safety, and thus he might have preserved his own life, and the lives of many others.

[609 721] On Sunday morning, the 30th of November, the men were ordered to be busily engaged in careening the vessel, at which they all demurred, and some absolutely refused, being desirous of going on shore, as they had been accustomed to do, on Sundays, at whatever place they had touched at during the voyage; and to this they were further encouraged by the pernicious invitations of the natives. It is indeed sometimes extremely difficult, under such circumstances,

114 to preserve good order and prompt obedience
among the men; and yet the state of the ship,
at this time, perhaps, fully required the greatest
exertions, and the most watchful care. Mr.
Brown, irritated by these symptoms of discontent,
the fault of which was in no small degree
to be laid to his own account, seemed to have
less use of his judgment, at a time when he required
it most. The men came aft, to request
permission to go on shore: this he peremptorily
refused, telling them they might go to H—l if
they pleased, but that they should not go on
shore till the work was done on board, and ordered
them immediately to quit the quarter-deck:
they instantly complied. A short time after
James Kelly jumped up on the gang-way with a
Spanish stiletto in his hand, and swore by G—
he would run the first ——— through who attempted
to stop him; he then hailed a canoe:
his example was instantly followed by three
others, George Wood (the carpenter's mate,
who swore he would never rig the pumps again),
William Baker, and James Hoay, taking with
them all their clothes. Not much time elapsed
721 before fifteen others took the same step. In the
afternoon the remainder of the crew came aft,
114 with a complaint that a considerable number of
the natives had assembled between decks, armed
with clubs and spears, and whose behaviour

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gave ample grounds to suspect that they intended to take the vessel. This was indeed their object, having already digested their plan, which Mr. Mariner afterwards learned from a young chief named Vaca-ta-Bola: it will be well to relate it here in its proper place, although they did not at this time succeed. During the present interval, Vaca-ta-Bola and another chief were sitting in the cabin with Mr. Brown, Mr. Dixon, and Mr. Mariner. Whilst they were here a canoe was to come under the stern, and Vaca-ta-Bola was to rise up suddenly and call out with seeming great earnestness to the people in the canoe; on which it may be supposed that Mr. Brown and Mr. Dixon would naturally turn their heads, out of curiosity, to see what was going forward in the canoe, at which moment the two chiefs were to knock them down, with short iron-wood clubs, which they had concealed under their dress. Before the canoe arrived, however, Mr. Mariner happening to go into the steerage was met by the men, who were coming, as before stated, to inform Mr. Brown of the threatening appearance of the natives. Mr. Brown seemed at first not much inclined to pay attention even to this new warning of danger; but when Mr. Mariner assured him that what the men stated was correct, and that, at all events, it would be but common

721 114 prudence to inquire into it, and satisfy their apprehensions, he went upon deck, leading Vaca-ta-Bola by the hand: Mr. Dixon and the other chief followed. During this time Mr. Mariner could not help observing that the two chiefs turned pale, and were evidently much agitated; which he attributed to fear, occasioned by the bustle which appeared, without their understanding the cause: though the truth was they imagined their plot discovered, and their fate inevitable. When they arrived upon deck, and were given to understand that Mr. Brown did not like to have so many men on board armed with clubs and spears, they pretended to interest themselves very much in throwing their arms overboard, and in ordering the natives out of the ship. Mr. Mariner, in the mean while, noticed that they took great care not to throw away the best and most handy clubs, but contrived to get them safe into the canoes, by passing them from one to another: this he also attributed to a wrong motive, imagining that they wished to save them merely on account of their goodness, whilst the bad ones they threw away without reluctance. Mr. Brown, with a view of wearing also a pacific appearance, ordered the tomahawks, boarding-pikes, and other arms, to be removed below.

114 In the evening, after the natives had gone on

shore, the carpenter and sail-maker spoke to 114
Mr. Brown on the propriety of having the muskets up, and placing centinels on deck to keep the natives off, as their number prevented them from working; but, unfortunately, too self-willed and obstinate in error, he treated every wholesome admonition with indifference, and accordingly no such measures were taken.

The following fatal day, Monday, the 1st 721
December, 1806, at eight o'clock in the morning, 114
the natives began to assemble on board, and soon increased to 300 in different parts of the ship. About nine o'clock Tooi Tooi, the Sandwich islander, before mentioned as having endeavoured to inspire the ship's company with a good opinion of the friendly disposition of the natives, came on board, and invited Mr. Brown to go on shore and view the country: he immediately complied, and went unarmed. About 726
half an hour after he had left the ship, Mr. Mariner, 114
who was in the steerage, went to the hatch for the sake of the light, as he was about to mend a pen; looking up, he saw Mr. Dixon standing on a gun, endeavouring, by his signs, to prevent more of the natives coming on board: at this moment he heard a loud shout from the Indians, and saw one of them knock Mr. Dixon down with a club: seeing now too clearly what was the matter, he turned about to run towards the

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gun-room, when an Indian caught hold of him by the hand: he luckily escaped from his grasp, ran down the scuttle, and reached the gun-room, where he found the cooper: but considering the magazine the safest place, they ran immediately there; and having consulted what was best to be done, they came to the resolution of blowing up the vessel, and, like Samson of old, to sacrifice themselves and their enemies together. Bent upon this bold and heroic enterprise *, Mr. Mariner repaired to the gun-room to procure flint and steel, but was not able to get at the muskets without making too much noise, for the arm-chest lay beneath the boarding-pikes, which had carelessly been thrown down the scuttle the preceding evening: the noise occasioned by clearing them away, as the uproar above began to cease, would undoubtedly have attracted the notice of the Indians; he therefore returned to the magazine, where he found the cooper in great distress from the apprehension of his impending fate. Mr. Mariner next proposed that they should go at once upon deck, and be killed quickly, while their enemies were still hot with

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* Lest this should be thought a rash and presumptuous conduct, as sacrificing their own lives unnecessarily, it should be considered that it would be almost a certain preventive of such conspiracies for the future, when those on shore would witness the sudden and awful fate so unexpectedly attending the perpetrators.

slaughter, rather than by greater delay subject 726
themselves to the cruelties of cooler barbarity. 114
After some hesitation, the cooper consented to follow if Mr. Mariner would lead the way. The latter thereupon went up into the gun-room, and lifting up the hatch a little, saw Tooi Tooi and Vaca-ta-Bola examining Captain Duck's sword and other arms that were in his bed-
place. Their backs being turned, he lifted off 727
the hatch entirely, and jumped up into the cabin: Tooi Tooi instantly turning round, Mr. Mariner presented his hands open, to signify that he was unarmed and at their mercy: he then uttered *aroghah!* (a word of friendly salutation among the Sandwich islanders) and asked him partly in English, and partly in his own language, if he meant to kill him, as he was ready to meet his fate. Tooi Tooi replied in broken English, that he should not be hurt, as the chiefs were already in possession of the ship, but that he wished to be informed how many persons there were below, to which Mr. Mariner answered, that there was only one, and then called up the cooper, who had not followed him the whole way. Tooi Tooi led them upon deck towards one of the chiefs who had the direction of the conspiracy. The first object that struck Mr. Mariner's sight, on coming upon deck, was enough to thrill the stoutest heart: there sat upon the companion a

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[For information on Mariner's voyage back to England, see category 116, pp. 55, and 64-71.]

and had opportunities of receiving confirmations of what he had heard from Cow Mooala (see Chap. X.). 000 The natives appeared to be a 144 race considerably inferior to the Tonga people, partaking rather of the negro cast of countenance and form, at least in a small degree. As 171 far as Mr. Mariner had opportunities of observing, their domestic comforts appeared much inferior to those of the people he had just left. They do not oil themselves, and to this he attri- 171 butes the coarseness and harshness of skin, 302 which is so different from that of the Tonga people. Their hair was somewhat more curly, 144 and rather disposed to be woolly. Their 171 whole external character, taking it generally, [181] seemed fierce and warlike, rather than brave and noble. Their only dress was the *mahi* (see [291] Vol. I. Chap. X.), and this nakedness of appearance serves at once to sink them in a degree of civilization below the natives of Tonga, and the Society islands. It is to be lamented that Mr. 114 Mariner had not opportunities of seeing more of the natives of these islands than he did, with a view of drawing a juster comparison between them and the people whose manners he was so well acquainted with; but the apprehension that some accident might again detain him just on the eve of his return to civilized society, pre-

114 vented him from going on shore so often, or so
far, as he otherwise might have done. He was
171 curious to discover what opinion they had of
[829] the natives of Tonga, and found, uniformly,
that they considered the latter to be a very
treacherous race; whilst these, as already related,
accuse the Fiji people of possessing the
same bad character; but, in all probability,
there is not much difference between them in
[726] this respect. From all that he has seen, and all
that he has heard, however, he is disposed to believe
[727] that the Fiji people fight with more fury
and animosity than the Tonga people, but that
the latter, where they have been seriously
injured, harbour sentiments of revenge for a
longer time. Mr. Mariner witnessed no instance
171 of cannibalism among them, but they made no
266 scruple to acknowledge that such instances were
very frequent, and Cow Moöala's account of
the feast of Chichia, where two hundred human
bodies were served up, was confirmed by the report
of several of the natives of Pau, who were
not, indeed, present, but who spoke of it with
much indifference, as having heard it often from
those who were present, and as being a thing so
likely, that there was no reason to doubt it. He
had it also confirmed by a native of Tonga, resident
at Pau, who acted as his interpreter, and

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562 that the women are by no means slaves to the
565 men; it is, that the female chiefs are allowed to imitate the authority of the men, by having their *cow-fafi'ne*, as the male chiefs have their *cow-tangata:* their *cow-fafi'ne* consists of the wives and daughters of inferior chiefs and matabooles, and it may be easily conceived that such an association tends to support their rank and independence. . . .

The subject we are now treating of naturally
128 leads us to speak of the more domestic habits and manners of the people; but these may be considered in two points of view; first, on the grand and extensive scale, such as they are presented to foreigners, by way of shewing themselves off to the best advantage; and secondly, in their more familiar, true, and unre-
[114] served state. With respect to the first, it would be difficult to give a more correct and descriptive account than has already been given in Cook's Voyages, written principally by Mr. Anderson, and which we shall beg leave to quote, first, out of respect to its accuracy, and secondly, because it involves a most interesting point of time, that in which the natives had come to the resolution of assassinating Captain Cook and his companions, as mentioned in page 60 of this volume. Those places which require

[May 18, 1777]

"ground, which shews that, of the two, wrestling is their most approved diversion *. Not only boys engage in both the exercises, but frequently little girls box very obstinately for a short time. In all which cases it doth not appear that they ever consider it as the smallest disgrace to be vanquished; and the person overcome sits down with as much indifference, as if he had never entered the lists. Some of our people ventured to contend with them in both exercises, but were always worsted; except in a few instances, where it appeared that the fear they were in of offending us contributed more to the victory than the superiority of the person they engaged." 175 648 526 [857]

Such is the account we read in Cook's Voyages; and the accuracy with which every thing is stated evinces a spirit of observation and facility of description deserving of the highest credit. The last remark which he makes in regard to the contention between the English people and the natives is a tolerably just one. The natives themselves mentioned the circum- 114 175 526 609 114

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* This inference is not correct: the circumstance above alluded to means merely to say, that when a man is knocked down, he may be considered as dead, for it certainly is in the power of the other to kill him if he pleases, and for this reason only he has a right to the song of victory.

175 stance to Mr. Mariner, stating, that they allowed
526 the Papalangies to get the victory sometimes,
609 because they did not like to beat the poor fel-
114 lows so much. There was probably, at the
same time, a little apprehension of offending
576 their visitors; for it is certain, that when a man
201 is engaged singly with a chief much superior to
him, he sometimes allows himself to be beaten,
or rather yields out of respect to his opponent;
and the sign by which he shews his disposition
to do so is a sudden toss of the head on one
side, upon which his antagonist immediately re-
526 tires to his seat. There is something admira-
576 ble in the perfect good humour and forbear-
643 ance of temper which is always manifested
on these occasions, sufficiently so to astonish natives of European countries: for on occasions when there is a general combat, (as related p. 207.) even Tooitonga sometimes gets miserably handled by one of the lowest fellows in the island; but nevertheless he retires from the games without the least inimical spirit, although perhaps with his eyes black, his mouth and nose dreadfully swelled, and, it may happen, with his arm broken; all done by a man over whom he has the power of life and death: for it must be observed, that when there is a general combat, no quarter is given on either side.

In the account given by Cook, there is only 535
mention made of two principal dances, viz. *mëé* 565
low folla, and *méë too buggi;* but there are 533
two others of some note, called *héa* and *oóla:* [114]
the first is one of the most ancient dances of
Tonga, and is practised only by chiefs and superior
matabooles; and is a dance very difficult
to execute, not only on account of the accompanying
gesture, but also of the singing. The [534]
chorus is composed of ten or twelve of the
chiefs or principal matabooles, in the middle of
whom sits one who beats time upon a loose flat
piece of hard wood, about three feet long, and
an inch and a half square, fastened only at one
end upon another similar piece: this is struck
by two small sticks, one in each hand, and produces
a rattling sound. The difficulty of keeping
the time is owing to the extreme velocity
with which they beat, particularly towards the
latter end. The dancers, who are all men, in
the mean while perform their evolutions round
the chorus, exhibiting a vast variety of very
graceful movements with the arms and head,
accompanied by expressions of countenance
suitable to the character of the dance, which is
that (abstractedly) of a manly and noble spirit,
consistent with the mind and habits of a superior
person, and therefore it is deemed essential
that every chief and mataboole should learn it.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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music, the one called *hiva*, and the other *langi*; 533 the *hiva* approaches in its nature to recitative, [535] is given without dancing, and serves as an introduction or overture to the *langi*, which is accompanied with dancing, and commences the moment the *hiva* has ceased. The *hiva*, however, is repeated several times *ad libitum*; but when the *langi* is about to commence, and the *hiva* to cease, the latter is generally ended with a sort of flourish difficult to describe, but in a louder tone of voice, and very abruptly, as if significant of a sudden rush or assault. The first specimen of the *hiva* here given admits of being thus ended, the other does not. The *langi* may also be repeated *ad libitum*, and may even be changed from one specimen into another: Thus much for the *oola*. The last specimen belongs [535] to the dance called *Méĕ too buggi*, which has no *hiva* to introduce it, but commences at once with dancing; it may also be repeated *ad libitum*: what is here given is, however, only *part* of a specimen of the *meĕ too buggi*. The words [191] of all these songs are in the Hamoa language, and are not understood, except the last, which appears to be a mixture of Hamoa and Tonga: where there are no words, they are forgotten.

The little piece quoted as a Tonga song in 114 the Quarterly Review, No. XXXIII. p. 34, we can make no sense of, it is perhaps Hamoa, or more probably Nuha language.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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104	101	tesoo ma taha.	1001	afe ma taha.
	120	tesoo ma oouafooloo.	1100	afe ma tĕáoo.
802	121	tesoo ma oouafooloo ma taha.	1800	afe ma valoo gnĕáoo.

95,741 *Hiva mano, ma nima afe, ma fitoo gnĕáoo, ma fa ongofooloo, ma taha:* that is, nine ten-thousands, and five thousand, and seven hundred, and four tens, and one *.

104 802 193 It must be observed, that there are two words for ten, viz. *ongofooloo* and *ooloo*, which may be used indifferently for that number simply; but in combinations the former only can be adopted. For *twenty* there are also two words, viz. *ooa ongofooloo*, and *oouafooloo*, either of which may be employed in combination with the digits. In regard to the number of a hundred, *tĕáoo*, it is never used in the plural, *gnĕáoo* being substituted *for* it: thus, 200 cannot be expressed by *ooa tĕáoo*, but *ooa gnĕáoo*.

In counting out yams and fish, they reckon by pairs, in the particular method explained in the Vocabulary under the word *tecóo*.

What are called ordinal numbers they express by putting the article *he* immediately before the number: this indeed is one mode of forming the plural (see NOUNS) thus, *aho e toloo*, or *aho he toloo*, means the third day, whilst it also signifies three days: but the sense in most instances sufficiently points out the distinction.

In connecting cardinal words by the conjunction *and*, they generally use the word *ma* instead of *mo*, except before *afe*, a thousand, when *mo* is more commonly used. The conjunction *ma* is, however, never employed but for connecting numbers: on other occasions this word is either the preposition *for*, or the name of a certain preparation of food.

104 802 It may appear strange that they have particular names for such high numbers as 10,000 and 100,000, *mano*, and *gilee*, for they certainly have no use for them. They often have occasion to count yams to the number of a thousand, or more, and sometimes to the amount of two or three thousand, but never higher. 104 802 114 M. Labillardiere, however, has had the perseverance to interrogate the natives, and obtain particular names for numbers as high as 1,000,000,000,000,000!! Here, however, he has overshot the mark, and instead of names of numbers, has only furnished us with names of things very remote from his speculations at that time: for 1,000,000 he gives us *nanoo*, which has no meaning that we can discover; for 10,000,000 *laoolei*, which should be *lōvile* (according to our spelling), which means the præputium; for 100,000,000 *laounoua* (low noa), which means *nonsense*: 1,000,000,000 *linguee*, which we take for *liagi*, and is the name of a game played with the hands, with which probably he made signs; for

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* Their capability of expressing such high numbers in this decimal mode appears to be suspected by some readers; but we ought to reflect, that a people who are in the frequent habit of counting out yams, &c. to the amount of one, two, or three thousand, must become tolerably good numerators, by finding out some method of rendering the task of counting more easy.

[p, 370]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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10,000,000,000 *tole tafai* (tole ho fāe), for which see the Vocabulary: 104
1,000,000,000,000, *lingha* (linga) see the Vocabulary: for a higher number they give him *uaua* (the glans penis); for a still higher number, *kaimaou* (ky 802
ma ow), by which they tell him to eat up the things which they have just 114
been naming to him: but M. Labillardiere was not probably the first subject of this sort of Tonga wit, which is very common with them. In the other numbers he is tolerably correct, except in putting *giloo* for *mano*, and *mano* for *giloo*: his general accuracy in respect to the numbers does him great credit.

SYNTAX.

To enter minutely into this subject, according to the usual form of grammars, would perhaps tend rather to perplex the memory than to assist the 193
judgment: for we are not treating of a language the rules of which have been before systematically investigated, and written down; we are at present only in the act of making an investigation, in which the reader is requested to accompany us*. General rules have already been given under each part of speech, we shall now therefore merely furnish a few other observations in regard to construction, and give a few of the more difficult idioms of speech; and in order that the reader may be better enabled to construe the ensuing specimens of composition, and thereby arrive at the genius of the language, a strictly literal translation will be adjoined to each.

1. In the first place, it must be noticed, that the tenses of verbs are often confounded; the future is frequently used for the present, and the present for the past; thus, *I do not know* is rendered in Tonga by *iky' teoo ilea*, literally, *I shall not know*. The present tense is generally used for the past, when the action spoken of happened not long before.

2. The future tense is also often used to express *should*, *would*, likewise *can*, *could*: thus, *iky' teoo aloo*, I cannot go; *copów tenne aloo*, if he should go.

3. When the future tense is used to express can, could, would, should, &c. and the negative is connected with it; the latter always comes immediately before the sign of the tense *te*. It must also be observed, that in this application of the future, the second class of personal pronouns (or those which follow verbs, and may be Englished by *myself*, *thyself*, &c.) may either be used or not, in addition to those that come before the verb: note also, that in this form of the future the third person singular is always *tenne*, &c.: for example.

Iky' teoo aloo (*gita*); I can, could, would, or should not go.

Iky' tegger aloo (*coy*); thou canst, wouldst, or shouldst not go.

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* Mr. Mariner of course only obtained a practical knowledge of the language, for the natives themselves have no other. I have depended upon [123]
him to furnish me with good composition, and upon this the whole of the present investigation is built.

[p. 371]

loto,—" io, co tow fonongo gi he lownoa he tamachi coehá?"

Mo manatoo ca lea atoo leva au, co he fucca-ongo atoo ia he loto a Toi Oomoo, mo Ooloovaloo mo Afoo, mo Fotoo, mo Alo, bea mo fooli-be he cow-Ho-egi mo he mataboole *he* Vavaoone (28).

Mo fonongo my! cow fucca-manatoo-atoo giate gimótóloo; capów gooa ai nihi gooa fonnooa gehe, be gooa ai nihi gooa tai-lata ger nofo fucca-behene (9) co lolotonga-be coeni teoo atoo giate gimótóloo ger aloo, ca, hili leva coeni, iky' chi te tow felówagi mo Hapai;

Fili-fili leva he mo nofoanga co Fiji e, co Hamoa e, co Tonga e, co Hapai e, co Fotoona mo Lotooma e.

Ilonga-be mea gooa loto-fucca-taha ger manaco *he* nofo he lillé tai-toogoo,—ginówtóloo-be te now nofo gi Hafooloo How.

Iky'-chi teoo bebe ger lolomi he toa he taha loto-tow.

Vacky'-ange! he fonnooa co Tonga bea mo Fiji gooa nofo tow *be*, mo fili-fili he mo manaco ger aloo gi he taha, ger fy ai he mo toá.

Mo too! taggi-taha-be aloo gi enne abi, bea mo manatoo gi he aloo he vaca he bongi-bongi gi Hapai.

(do) we listen to the silly talk (of) a 537
boy wherefore?"

Recollect ye, whilst speak to you 634
therefore I, it is the echoing of the 539
mind of Toi Oomoo, and Ooloovaloo and Afoo, and Fotoo and Alo, also and all the chiefs and the matabooles (of) Vavaoo.

Listen ye to me! I remind ye, (that) if there any-one is (of) another land, and there any-one is discontented (with) remaining in this way, this is the only opportunity I will give to you to depart; for, let-pass accordingly this (occasion), not little (i. e. not at all) shall we communicate with Hapai;

Choose then your dwelling-places; is Fiji there, is Hamoa there, is Tonga there, is Hapai there, is Fotoona and Lotooma there.

In particular those having minds unanimous, that they love remaining (in) the peace unceasing, they only, shall they remain at Hafooloo How.

Not at all will I suppress the bravery (of) one warlike mind.

Behold! the land of Tonga and of Fiji are remaining (at) war: choose ye your wish to go to the one, to perform there your bravery.

Arise! each one go to his home also and reflect upon the departure (of) the canoes to-morrow to Hapai.

These, it is presumed, will be found sufficient to give the reader a just idea 197
of the nature and genius of the Tonga language; and will sufficiently enable him to compare it with others, to which it may be supposed to have some affinity; as the Malay, for instance, or hereafter, perhaps, with those of the Fiji, the Sandwich, and the Society islands; of each of which places we ought, in a few years, to have some better account than we have hitherto had; for there are English and American people who have been resident at those several clusters of islands for a number of years; and, of course, ought to be perfectly acquainted with the customs, and tolerably well versed in their language. There is no doubt but that the farther inquiry is carried into the history of the South Seas, the more clearly it will appear that a very strong relationship exists between the natives of the different islands, notwithstanding the distance of their geographical situations. Affinities be- [114]

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197 114 tween their several languages have been already shewn by Cook and other navigators, but under a very disadvantageous circumstance, the want of a free communication of ideas; in consequence of which, many wrong words have been given; thus, *lille* is the Tonga word for *good*, but Cook gives *my fogge* (my foki), which means, *give it me if you please:* for a bead he gives, *attahoa*, which should be *cahooa:* he gives *kooma* (co-ooma) for the burnt circular marks in the skin; but this word means *why? for what?* whilst the proper word for those marks is *lafa*. For *to sneeze*, he gives *efango* (fafango), signifying, to *blow* the nose; the word for sneezing being *mafatooa:* for the head, *ouloo pokko* (ooloouboco), which means the skull: for the number 100,000, he gives *laoo noa (low-noa)*, which literally means nonsense, or foolish discourse! From at least fifty to a hundred other instances of this, out of the same vocabulary, might be quoted; and the same with Labillardiere's Vocabulary, of which indeed we have already noticed a few remarkable instances.

197 104 With respect to the Malayan language, Mr. Mariner has, with great diligence and attention, looked over the whole of the English part of Marsden's Malayan Dictionary, and has selected the following list of above sixty words, which bear a considerable resemblance to the corresponding Tonga words. It is here very worthy of remark, that those Tonga words which contain the sound of the letter *f* have in its place the letter *p* or *b* in the Malayan: and the above author notices in his preface to the same excellent work, that the Malays not having the sound *f* in their own language, generally substitute *p* for it in those adopted Arabic words where it occurs*.

TONGA.	MALAYAN.	ENGLISH.
ica	ikan	fish
nima	lima	five

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* The transition from the *f* to the *p* is perhaps more natural than may at first sight appear. Some nations confound the *f* with the *v*; others the *v* with the *b*, and others again the *b* with the *p*. The Germans make little or no distinction between the sounds of *f* and *v*; the Spaniards have an intermediate sound of *v* and *b*, and the Tonga people of *b* and *p*. The word for land or country is sounded by the Tonga people *fonnooa;* the word for the same idea among some of the Fiji people is *vonnooa*, whilst others of the same nation pronounce the first letter like the Spanish sound between *v* and *b*, and others again distinctly call it *bonnooa*, from which the transition to *ponnooa* would evidently be very easy. In searching for analogies between the languages of the South Pacific Ocean, as they regard each other, and as they may have a relation to those of the Asiatic nations, it seems necessary to pay particular attention not only to the mutations of sound above noticed, but also to those between the *l* and *r*, the *h* and *s*, the hard *g*, *k*, and *t*, and probably some others: without such attention the eye and ear may be easily deceived, and overlook some very strong coincidences. My authority for the Fiji pronunciation above given, is Jeremiah Higgins, who was at those islands thirteen weeks. [123]

[p. 384]

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

114 Edward Winslow Gifford was in charge of the Tongan party of the Bayard Dominick Expedition, 1920-21. His attention was given largely to a study of society, religion and ethnogeography. Tongan Place Names is presented as a contribution to the problem of the origin and migrations of the Polynesians.

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Tongan Place Names

By **Edward Winslow Gifford**

INTRODUCTION

One avenue of approach to the problem of the origin and migrations of the Polynesians lies in a careful study and comparison of place names from various parts of Polynesia. With large series of names from the several groups of Polynesia it will be possible to put the comparison on a firm statistical basis. Moreover, if it were found that Tonga had eighty per cent of her place names in common with Samoa and forty per cent in common with New Zealand, the closer connection with Samoa would be self evident. With large series of place names in hand it will become possible therefore to work out the ethnogeographic interrelations of each Polynesian group with all other Polynesian groups. It is hardly necessary to point out the value of these data in defining the movements of the Polynesian peoples. Until the expeditions of the Bishop Museum in the Pacific have been completed it is premature to attempt a comparison on a statistical basis as suggested above. Consequently, the present paper presents the Tongan data without attempting a detailed comparison with other groups of Polynesia. Tongan intrarelations alone are studied. Four thousand seven hundred and seventy-six place names, utilized for more than eight thousand two hundred locations, are presented. These have been studied as to geographic distribution and frequency of occurrence in different parts of the Tongon archipelago. One aim of this study is to determine if possible the direction of movement within the archipelago—that it, whether from north to south or from south to north. 121 128 121

Several thousand place names were obtained from the records in the Tongan Lands Office, which were courteously put at my disposal by the Honorable William Tungi, Minister for Lands. Mr. A. B. Wallace, Minister for Works, gave me access to the maps showing the location of hereditary lands in the Kingdom. The Reverend E. E. V. Collocott sent me in 1922 a list of names from the island of Niuafoou, which corroborated the Niuafoou list I made in Nukualofa (the capital of Tonga) and furnished forty new names. 127

For the translation of place names I am indebted to several residents of Tonga; namely, Mrs. May Laurence, Mr. Solomon Ata, Mr. August Hettig, Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker, Mr. Alphonse J. Gaffney, and Mr. William Tungi. The translations have been studied by the author with the aid of two excellent dictionaries of the Tongan language, one compiled 114 127

[p. 3]

127 by the Catholic Missionaries of the Marist Brotherhood[1] and the other by the Rev. Shirley W. Baker.[2]

104 With one exception the Tongan orthography followed in this paper is that set forth on pages 1 and 2 of the Dictionnaire Toga-Francais. Sixteen symbols in all are used, of which five represent vowels and eleven consonants. The vowels are *a, e, i, o,* and *u* and the consonants are *f, h, k, l, m, n, ng, p, s, t,* and *v.* *Ng*[2a] is used in this paper in place of the *g* employed in both the Dictionnaire Toga-Francais and in Baker's Dictionary.

114 Baker's Dictionary differs from the Dictionnaire Toga-Francais in using both *b* and *p* instead of *p* alone; and *s* and *j* instead of *s* alone.

127 128 Owing to the fact that practically all of the place names presented in this paper are drawn from government records, charts, and various Tongan manuscripts and are recorded in varying orthographies and largely without diacritical marks, it is impossible to consistently indicate by diacritical marks the exact pronunciation of each word. For particulars concerning Tongan phonetics the reader should consult the dictionaries.

THE TONGA OR FRIENDLY ISLANDS

131 The group named the Friendly Islands by the famous navigator Cook lies between the parallels of 15° and 23° south latitude and between the 173rd and 176th meridians west of Greenwich.

103 The name Tonga as applied to the whole group is derived from the name of the largest island of the group, generally known as Tongatabu.[3]

133 [131] With the exception of the outlying volcanic island of Niuafoou approximately in latitude 16° S and longitude 176° W, the islands of the Tongan archipelago lie in two parallel chains stretching from north to south. The eastern chain is of coral formation. The western chain is volcanic.

The eastern chain includes more than one hundred islands, most of them low-lying—in fact, little more than uplifted coral reefs. They are exceedingly fertile and bear the great bulk of the Tongan population.

The western volcanic islands are not numerous. They are from south to north: Ata (1165 feet elevation), the twin islands of Hunga Tonga and Hunga Haapai (respectively 490 and 400 feet elevation), Tofua (1670

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[113] [1] Missionnaires Maristes, Dictionnaire Toga-Francais et Francais-Toga-Anglais. Precedé d'une Grammaire et de Quelques Notes sur L'Archipel par les Missionnaires Maristes, revu et mis en ordre par le P. A. C. s.m. Publication de l'oeuvre de Saint-Jerome, Librairie-Editeur, Paris. Chadenat, 1890.

[113] [2] An English and Tongan Vocabulary, also a Tongan and English Vocabulary, with a list of Idiomatic Phrases; and Tongan Grammar, Auckland, N. Z., 1897.

[3] The spelling Tongatabu has been unfortunately adopted by official geographic boards and gazetteers. The correct orthography is Tongatapu.

[2a] In the arrangement of the gazetteer, *ng* follows *n*.

Fa. Pandanus. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord. Also tract near Holonga, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Lofanga island (H). Also tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Mataaho, village on Niuafoou island (NF). 103

Faaangahihi. The habit of frequently speaking evil of others [faa, frequently; anga, habit; hihi, to speak evil of others]. Tract near Ngaunoho, village on Utungake island (V).

Faafefine. A woman industrious in agriculture [faa, industrious in agriculture; fefine, woman]. Tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord.

Faakape. Industrious in kape growing [faa, industrious in agriculture; kape, an edible plant (Arum costatum)]. Tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord. Also tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.

Faakofe. Industrious in bamboo growing [faa, industrious in agriculture; kofe, bamboo]. Tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Faalofani. To be constantly on loving terms [faa, constant; lofani, loving terms]. This meaning, vouched for by two Tongan informants, cannot be verified by the dictionaries. Tract on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Tangipa, landlord.

Faatoto. Frequent bleeding [faa, frequent; toto, to bleed]. Well near Koulo, village on Lifuka island (H). The water hole of the god Tangakina.

Faelemotaeaenga. Brought forth but useless [faele, to bring forth; mo, and; taeaonga, useless]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Fafa. To feel the way. Island (T). An island of the chain stretching along the northern face of Tongatabu island. Perhaps the name of the island refers to its position. It is the westernmost of the chain connected by reefs. Tau island is at the other extremity of the chain. Also tract near Vaini, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Maafu, landlord.

Fafao. To stretch. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.

Fafasi. To break as waves in succession. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.

Fafine. Women. Tract near Tafeuni, village on Vavau island (V).

Fafini. The name is from an Admiralty chart and is probably a misspelling of "fafine," which means "women." Islet near Vavau island (V). An islet in east central part of the Vavau group. [114]

Fahamofaha. Yam and yam [fata, a kind of yam; mo, and]. Reefs or rocks near or on Uoleva island (H).

Fahefa. Split grass [fa, split; hefa, a kind of grass]. Village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Fangaleounga, village on Foa island (H)—Niukapu, landlord. Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Fahileiaa. Split by the sun [fahi, to split; ie, an archaic word equivalent to e, by; laa, sun]. Tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Fahina. The white pandanus [fa, pandanus; hina, white]. Tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract on Oloua island (V).

Faia. To go to meet someone and execute a command [faia, to execute; a, to meet]. Landing on Tofua island (H). The name probably refers to the Samoan Faia's being sent by Tui Tofua to the chief of Tofua island with instructions how to receive the sharks. So named because here Faia, a Sa- 103 773

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

114 Edward Winslow Gifford served as a member of the Bishop Museum staff for the year 1920-1921, spending nine months of this time in Tonga. In July, 1921, he resumed his duties as Associate Curator of the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California.

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5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan Myths and Tales

COMPILED BY EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

INTRODUCTION

The printing press has undoubtedly done more to preserve the extant 114
Tongan myths and legends than has oral transmission. Fortunately both
the Wesleyan Methodist and the Roman Catholic churches in Tonga adopted
the broad policy of publishing in their Tongan language magazines many
stories from raconteurs now long dead. A number of tales presented in 127
the following pages are drawn from these sources.

A series of stories was recorded at first hand from Tongan narrators 124
during my nine months sojourn in Tonga in 1920-1921. For many of them
the published versions, rather than the tales of some elder relative, were
the relater's source of information. For such tales I have discarded the 128
oral account and have presented only a translation of the printed version. 127

European folk tales have also been published in Tongan for the delectation
of the Tongan public. As a result I not infrequently found myself 177
recording some well known story, such as Cinderella or Dick Whittington's 538
Cat, under a thin disguise of Polynesian names. There were also [124]
hybrid tales in which the leading roles were played by princes, princesses,
and premiers, or again by cats and ferocious mammals.

Through the diligent efforts of the late Reverend Father Francis Xavier 113
Reiter of the Catholic Church and of the Reverend E. E. V. Collocott of the 114
Methodist Church, a number of Tongan myths have been presented in the
anthropological periodicals Anthropos and Folk-Lore. Myths thus recorded 128
are not reproduced in this paper, except insofar as I secured variants or the
original Tongan text.

Modern Tongans have a distinct national pride and feel that they constitute 186
a nation superior to their neighbors. I am inclined to believe that
this national spirit is a survival from ancient times, which has been fanned
into fresh vigor under the astute guidance of that remarkable ruler, King
George I. Tupou. An undoubted manifestation of this patriotic feeling is [814]
the interest taken by many Tongans in the past of their nation. As a result 123
of this widespread interest the expedition met with hearty coöperation from
Tongans as well as from Europeans.

The interest of the educated Tongan in the past of his country is well 539
illustrated by the following Tongan verse written by the late chief Tafolo, 814
a scion of the Tui Tonga's house.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 Fakamolemole a houeiki mo ngaohi haa,	Pardon me, noble chiefs and lineages,
He oku mamao mo faingataa ae faanga;	For the searching place is now far and difficult;
814 Koe tolutalu nae tuu holo he ngahi halanga	The old plantations once scattered on the roads
Kuo fuu puli pea alu mo hono toutangata.	Have now quite disappeared and gone with them their generation,
Ka ne ongo ene vao fihi mo tevavaa,	But although they now lie in very thick bush,
Kae fai pe ha vavaku mo sia faala	Search will be made at any rate
Kia Touiafutuna, koe uluaki maka	For Touiafutuna, the first rock
Nae fai mei ai hotau kamataanga.	Where our origin began.
Kehe koe talatupua ia mo fananga,	Though these are only traditions and fables,
Oku utuutu mei ai sii kau faa.	'Tis here the inquirers get their facts.

127 My thanks are due to Her Majesty the Queen of Tonga, to the Prince Consort William Tungi, to Messrs. W. H. Murley, J. P. Maatu, E. E. V. Collocott, and to Mrs. Rachel Tonga for generously allowing me to use unpublished tales which they had recorded. The Methodist and Catholic churches, through their representatives, the Rev. R. C. G. Page, Rev. E. E. V. Collocott, and His Lordship Bishop Joseph Felix Blanc, courteously placed the old manuscripts in their archives at my disposal. 128 For the patient and painstaking work of Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker in translating hundreds of pages of Tongan text I am especially grateful. To others I am indebted for similar work, to wit: Mr. Alphonse J. Gaffney, Mr. Solomon Ata, Mrs. May Laurence, Mr. E. E. V. Collocott, Mr. W. H. Murley, Mr. William Finau, Miss Georgina Sutherland 124 and Miss Lena Hettig. Acknowledgment of the help of various Tongans who related stories is made in connection with their contributions.

104 Two excellent dictionaries of the Tongan language offer a choice in orthography. One is the compilation of the Catholic Missionaries of the [114] Marist Brotherhood,[1] and the other is the compilation of the Reverend Shirley W. Baker.[2] I have, with one exception, elected to follow the orthography set forth on pages 1 and 2 of the Dictionnaire Toga-Francais because it conforms more closely to the orthography of other Polynesian dialects. In the present paper sixteen symbols in all are used, of which five represent vowels and eleven consonants. The vowels are *a, e, i, o,* and *u* and the consonants are *f, h, k, l, m, n, ng, p, s, t,* and *v. Ng* is used in this paper in place of the *g* employed in both the Catholic dictionary and Baker's dictionary.

Baker's dictionary differs from the Catholic dictionary in using both *b* and *p* instead of *p* alone; and *s* and *j* instead of *s* alone. Consequently, in

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[113] [1] Missionnaires Maristes, Dictionnaire Toga-Francais et Francais-Toga-Anglais. Paris, Ch, Chadenat, 1890.

[113] [2] Baker, Shirley W., An English and Tongan Vocabulary, also a Tongan and English Vocabulary, with a list of idiomatic phrases; and Tongan Grammar, Auckland, N. Z., 1897.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan version in wealth of detailed elaboration. Just how much of this 538 171
is the work of Fison and how much of the raconteur, Roko Sokotukevei, is
difficult to determine. That some of the elaboration is Fison's seems likely 538
from the following statement in the preface of his book: "Each one of 171
them [the tales] contains a genuine legend as its skeleton, so to speak. For 114
the flesh with which that skeleton has been covered, the most that can be
claimed is that it is of the native pattern."

In Fison's version the hero is called Matandua instead of Muni Matamahae. 538 171 The youthful years of the hero's life are spent in the island of Ono in Fiji, thus betraying a localization, at least in part, for the story. The hero's parents, however, are Tongan, but his foster parents Fijian. As in the Tongan versions he goes to Tongatabu after reaching maturity and becomes the deliverer of his people from the clutches of a cannibal giant. The hero throughout had the aid of the spirit of his dead mother, a feature not even hinted at in the Tongan versions, in which all accomplishments are through his own great strength.

A tale concerning Longapoa, related by Taliai Tupou, the lord of Naiau and king of Lakemba, is incorporated in Fison's Tales from Old Fiji.[11] Although the hero is the Tongan Longopoa, he is represented as a chief of high rank and not merely as a chief's attendant. Kae, his companion in the Tongan versions, and the chief Loau, are entirely omitted. Longapoa's wife, who is a scold, plays an important role in this Fijian version, but is entirely omitted in the Tongan versions given here. The Fijian tale, however, deals wholly with Tongan characters and professes to be a Tongan tale, not a Fijian tale. (See pages 139-148.)

The fragmentary Tongan tale about Tangaloa and the carpenters (page 201) suggests the Fijian tale told by Taliai Tupou, the lord of Naiau and king of Lakemba,[12] and entitled "How the Fijians learned to build their canoes." In the Fijian tale the patron god of the carpenters (boat builders) is Dengei the Great Serpent, of the hill of Kau-vandra in Great Fiji. As the Tongan tale came from but a single informant and as its incidents are not clearly connected, I am inclined to regard it as a variant of the Fijian story. Of course the possibility of its being an old Tongan tale, now largely forgotten, should not be overlooked.

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[11] Op. cit., pp. 65-85.

[12] Fison, Lorimer. Tales from Old Fiji, pp. 27-31, London, 1907.

COSMOGONY

773 171 Tongan cosmogony, unlike some other Polynesian cosmogonies, does not tell of a void in the beginning, but instead tacitly assumes the preexistence of the sky, the sea, and the land of Pulotu (the home of the souls of departed chiefs).

113 The Tongan creation myth has happily been published in both Tongan and French by Father Reiter.[13] In 1910 Josiah Martin [14] published a portion of the Tongan creation story in which the fishing up of the island of Tongatabu is related. Reverend E. E. V. Collocott [15] has published a free translation of the account of the origin of the gods and of the world. Creation myths have also been published in the Tongan language.[16]

128 In the present paper only the variants of these published accounts are recorded.

114 776 The account by Father Reiter and that by Collocott disagree as to the paternity of the Maui, the former naming the god Taufulifonúa as the father, the latter the god Biki (Piki). The manuscript of J. P. Maatu agrees with Father Reiter's account in proclaiming Taufulifonua the father of the Maui. But Maatu's manuscript goes further and lists them as Maui Loa, Maui Puku, and Maui Atalanga. Collocott lists them as Maui-motua, Maui-buku, and Maui Atulanga.

114 773 114 Again Maatu's manuscript is specific where the published accounts are not. It states that the particular sort of *kiu* (snipe or plover), in which Tangaloa Atulongolongo became incarnate in his search for land, was the *tulione*. A second version in Maatu's manuscripts is not so specific. It does, however, state that the writers of the version were Kelekele and Tokemoana, who with Tongavalevale and the Tamaha Amelia were the writers of a similar account that I obtained from Jonathan Fonua of Neiafu, Vavau.

773 In the Tongan cosmogonical tales there is no hint of the creation of the sea, sky, sun, moon or stars. Their preëxistence is either stated or tacitly assumed.

539 The account of the origin of the gods in the old manuscript in the possession of Mr. John Panuve Maatu describes the origin of sexual intercourse by the twin deities Taufulifonua (male) and Havea Lolofonua (female): "And Piki and Kele made a new country which they named Tonga Mamao (Distant Tonga) and took their children Taufulifonua and Havea Lolofonua

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[13] Reiter, P., Traditions tonguiennes, Anthropos, vol. 2, pp. 230-236, 438-443; 743-750, 1907.

[14] Martin, Josiah, Origin of the name of Tonga Island: Jour. Poly. Soc., vol. 19, pp. 163-166, 1910.

[15] Collocott, E. E. V., A Tongan theogony: Folk-Lore, vol. 30, pp. 234-238, 1919.

[16] (1) By Taufapulotu, Koe tupuaga o mamani mo hono kakai, Koe Fafagu, vol. 4, pp. 122-127, 1906; (2) By the Tamaha, Kelekele, Tokemoana, and Tongavalevale, the origin tale, published in Koe Makasini a Koliji, vol. 4, pp. 22-26, 51-55, 74-78, 1881-1883; (3) Koe talanoa ki Eua, Koe Makasini a Koliji, vol. 4, pp. 109-111, 1881-1883.

Pea o hifo leva ae hopa mei langi, ke tuu i Ata. Ko hono hingoa oe hopa koia, koe putalinga, koe hopa fungani lelei; ka oku ikai ha hopa ilaloni; ka koe tupu mei langi ae hopa koe putalinga. Pea toki movete ai o tuu kotoape i he fonua kehekehe; ka koe o hifo mei langi o fua tuu i Ata. Koe ngoue o Laufakanaa, pea o hifo ai leva moe akau koe si, hono hingoa. Aeni oku tao hono foha o ngau, pea ngaahi aki ae ma o hingoa koe poopooi, pea ngaahiaki ai mea kai kehekehe; he koe akau oku lelei, pea aonga; he oku kau foki ki he ngaahi mea kai kotoape.

Pea o hifo foki ae ufi; ko hono hingoa koe nguata, koe o hifo ia ke tuu i Ata. Pea o hifo foki ae ufi e taha, koe tuaata, hono hingoa, o o hifo foki ia o tuu i Ata. He koe ngaahi akau kai koia, koe tupu mei Ata. Pea koe toki fakatupu kehekehe e ngaahi tevolo niihi ae meakai kehekehe. He kou osi ae talanoa ki Ata.

And the native banana was brought 539
down from the sky and planted at Ata.
The name of that banana is *putalinga*,
a very nice banana; there was no
banana here below, but originally there
came from the sky the banana *putalinga*.
Then it was scattered and it
grew in all the different lands; however
it came from the sky and first
grew at Ata. Its (appearance on earth)
was the work of Laufakanaa, and (he)
also brought the plant called *si*. The [262]
root of this is baked and chewed, and
is also cooked with native bread, and
is called *poopooi*, and other kinds of
food are made from it; because it is a
very good root, and useful; therefore
it is used in many kinds of food.

And the yam was brought down also; its name is *nguata*, and it was brought down to plant at Ata. And was brought down another yam, called *tuaata*, which was planted at Ata. All these food plants grew first on Ata. And then some of the gods created other kinds of food plants. That is all of the narrative about Ata.

The printed Tongan tales of the origin of the first Tongan land do not 114
make it clear whether the Ata island, which the myths designate together 773
with Eua island as the first land, is the low Ata island lying a few miles
north of Tongatabu or the lofty and probably volcanic Ata or Pylstaart
island lying more than fifty miles south of Tongatabu. Collocott maintains 773
that it is the adjacent island that is meant and several elderly natives whom 124
I interviewed held the same view. Among these natives were two former 114
inhabitants of the distant Ata or Pylstaart. Furthermore, Tongan legends
place the discovery of Pylstaart only a few generations ago. 773

On the other hand, Bishop Blanc[17] takes the stand that it is the distant 114
Ata or Pylstaart that is referred to in the myths, thus making the two first
created lands (Eua and Ata) both lofty in contradistinction to the low-lying
Tongatabu, later hauled to the surface with Maui's fish hook. Commander
Wilkes, U. S. N.,[17a] and the Reverend Walter Lawry[17b] explicitly
state (both from the same missionary source) that the Ata referred to
is Pylstaart. No modern native evidence supports these assertions. How- 539
ever, Maafu's account[18] of the land-fishing of the Maui makes mention of 773

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[17] P. Soane Malia, Chez les Meridionaux du Pacifique, chapter 3, Librarie Catholique Emmanuel Vitte, 1910, Lyon, Paris. [113]

[17a] Wilkes, Charles, U.S.N., Narrative of the U. S. Expl. Exped., 1838-1842, vol. 3, p. 23, Philadelphia, 1845. [113]

[17b] Lawry, Walter, Friendly and Feejee Islands, 2nd ed., p. 113, London, 1850. [113]

[18] Fison, Lorimer, Tales from Old Fiji, page 144, London, 1907.

STORIES ABOUT MUNI

539 The tale of Munimatamahae (Muni-of-the-torn-eye) is one of the most popular of the extant Tongan tales, being widely current in Haapai, the central province of the kingdom and the scene of much of the story.

124 I heard the tale from thirteen persons. In addition the tale has been
113 published twice in verse and twice in prose in the Tongan magazines of
114 the Methodist and Catholic churches. The tale has also appeared in
Folk Lore[illegible], translated into English by the Reverend G. Brown, whose version is based on the Tongan poem and explanation appearing in the Methodist magazine.

128 I reproduce here the Catholic poem and the Methodist poem and ex-
127 planation in Tongan accompanied by a translation. In the notes which follow I have embodied the details of the accounts from twelve living Tongans, insofar as they differ from the account published in Folk-Lore and those published herewith.

539 Several accounts specify that Muni's mother was sitting either on the starboard or the port side of the vessel when she was seized and killed. In some accounts it is stated that the chief of the vessel ordered that a "root" be struck off from the port (or starboard) side. The position of the vessel at the time that the woman was murdered is in some versions specified as near Luangahu island. One account states that the vessel was between Nomuka and Lekeleka islands in the southern portion of the Haapai group.

Four versions state that the chief of the vessel was the Tui Tonga himself, who was on his way to Vavau or Samoa. In one of these four he is specifically called Tuitatui, who was the eleventh traditional Tui Tonga. In another he is called the Tui Tonga from Tukutonga, a place two or three miles east of Nukualofa, Tongatabu island.

A version of the story by John Tupou, of Nukualofa, Tongatabu, gives the name of Muni's mother as Tetele.

The beach on Lofanga where Muni was cast ashore is called Pake in one version, Siumalu in another, and Muni in the Catholic prose version.

The fishing expedition on which an attempt was made to get rid of Muni by scuttling the boat on which he went to sleep is variously stated as being to Nukupule island or Niniva island, neither far distant from Lofanga. In one version only is the scuttling of the boat attributed to Muni's foster parents. In all others it is laid at the door of Muni's hostile fellow islanders.

[illegible] Folk-Lore, vol. 27, pp. 426-430, 1916.

TALES ABOUT PASIKOLE, THE SAMOAN

114 539 In presenting the story of Pasikole, the Samoan, the Rev. G. Brown[139] has published an English translation of the same text used in Miss Baker's translation, immediately following. It is interesting to note in a version recorded by Mr. W. H. Murley that the initiative in the two principal episodes is transferred from Pasikole to the deities; furthermore, that a natural phenomenon is explained by the continued presence of the two deities in the sea. In Mr. Murley's version there is no hint as to the sex of the two deities nor of their infatuation for the fair-haired Pasikole.

KO PASIKOLE: KOE HIVA A TANGATAILOA	PASIKOLE: THE SONG OF TANGATAILOA[140]
Ke fanongo mai ae tama lave, Kau lave kia Pasikole. Koe tangata ne tupu i fe? Oku mou sanoe aipe. Tupa!	Listen to me O poet, While I sing to you about Pasikole. A man that originated where? You do not know. Clap!
Koe tangata mei Akana, Oku mou filia hono tala. Lau pe ha otua pe ha mama, I heene anga oku fitaa. Tupa!	He was a man from Akana, Do you choose how it is to be told. Some say (he was) a god; others, a man, His ways were unsubdued. Clap!
Ko Pasikole anga fitaa, Ne ikai te ne ave ha mama: Ka ka ave a Sisi mo Faingaa. Faofao i he kato mosikaka, Pea tautau he puko he hala; Toki popo e kato pea ngangana. Tupa!	Pasikole whose ways were unsubdued, He did not take a human being: But he took Sisi and Faingaa, Put them in a coconut-leaf basket, And hung them in the puko tree by the road; When the basket rotted they fell out. Clap!
"Sisi mo Faingaa moomai; Lalanga ni polopola ke lalahi Pea mo omai o haheka ai. Malo pe e hanga ki langi, O mamata he ao fetolonaki!" Tupa!	"Sisi and Faingaa, you two come; Plait large baskets of nut leaves And then come and sit inside. Well done your gazing at the sky, Looking at the clouds moving by!" Clap!
Ko Pasikole e tama e ula, Ne ne haamoi e otua, O ave o tuku he maolunga; Pea toki utu e tau e ua, Pea na ngangana hifo kinaua. Fisipa, Haamoa mo Niua, Heena fekei moe otua. Tupa!	Pasikole was the clever lad, He carried suspended two goddesses, And took and left on the highland; After the harvest of two years, Then they fell down. Filliped (the fingers), Samoa and Niua, When they quarrelled with the gods. Clap!

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[113] [139] Brown, G., Folk-Lore, volume 27, pages 430-432, 1916.

[113] [140] From Koe Makasini a Koliji, vol. 2, pp. 96, 97, 1875. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker. Tangatailoa means "the known man."

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tales and Poems of Tonga

By E. E. V. Collocott

PREFACE

The aim of this book is to allow the Tongan to interpret himself through 121
the mouths of his story-tellers and bards. The references given by Gifford
(22)[1] will guide the curious to other publications wherein further composi- 113
tions and traditions may be found. Most of the known myths and traditions 114
of legendary and historically great personages already have been published.
This collection consists largely of more homely pieces. 121

A well-known ethnologist, who has done notable work in widely sep-
arated Polynesian islands once remarked that, although it might seem to lay 000
him open to the suspicion of being somewhat lacking in scientific interest,
yet his great concern was not for the past but for the future of these
peoples. My own labors have been in missionary and educational under- [114]
takings, which aim at shaping the present so as to secure a happy and worthy
future. Missionary, educational, and governmental work must be guided
by sympathetic understanding of the people among whom it is undertaken.
It is hoped that this collection will add something to the intimacy of self- 121
revelation of a Polynesian people, and that there may be some gleanings for
the ethnologist. If I can do anything to quicken intelligent sympathy of
white people for the brown races of the Pacific, and to stimulate the con-
fidence that these peoples are possessed of intellectual and moral qualities
that demand respect, and will enable them to make their fit contribution to
the progress of the world, I shall have been well rewarded.

The Tongans, alone of Pacific peoples, have maintained an independent 642
native kingship under British protection and with white assistance. It were 177
to be wished that such a system of government were more widely employed
in the dealings of great nations with their more backward neighbors, who,
indeed, have much to teach as well as to learn from the citizens of more
powerful states. In Tonga there has been a very happy adaptation of
native custom to the demands of modern constitutional rule, and to the
conditions of modern commerce. There is a happy, virile people, healthily [181]
proud of nationhood, and kindly disposed towards the foreigner who has not
cast down the native chiefs from their ancient rank.

Besides publications to which acknowledgments appear throughout the 114
work, I should mention my use of the dictionaries of Baker (2), Mission-

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[1] The numbers in parentheses refer to the Bibliography, page 168. The superior figures refer to notes pages 129-167.

[p. 3]

114 aries Maristes (29), Hazlewood (24), Pratt (32), and, to a less extent, to other dictionaries of Polynesian languages.

In my possession is a book (7), in which are pencilled notes giving some 127 of the native names of plants, I think, by Mr. Crosby. I thank Mr. Crosby for this kindness to one who is a stranger to him. Yet comparatively few of the plants are thus distinguished, and it is to be hoped that recent botanical work in Tonga will fill in the large gaps. To Mr. E. W. Gifford I owe Graffe's very useful list of the birds of Tonga, with native, scientific, and many popular names. To him also am I indebted for some of the poems in this collection, and, jointly with Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou, for a copy of the "Royal and Chiefs' Genealogies." The published papers of the late Rev. Dr. J. E. Moulton, and his unpublished papers (31) have provided much material. I would also thank my colleague, the Rev. R. C. G. Page, for frequent assistance. For the use of Tukuaho's Diary, I am indebted to his son, His Royal Higness Prince Tungi.

For the tunes I am indebted to my old pupil Mr. Manoa Havea, to my 126 wife, and to Mr. S. Jackling, of Albury, New South Wales. Some airs were written down for me by Mr. Havea, and others were sung by my 123 wife from memory and written by Mr. Jackling. My wife's idiomatic and facile use of the Tongan language, her ability to place herself in relations of easy familiarity with the people, and her keen interest in all that con- 128 cerned them have made me her constant debtor. To Tongan friends my obligations are endless, and full acknowledgment is not possible; but in especial would I thank His Royal Highness Tungi, the late Hon. Tupoutoa, Miss Alice Ahio, many of my old pupils, both boys and girls, at the Tupou College, Nukualofa, and boys of the newer section of the Tupou College at Nafualu, in especial Manoa Havea, J. Havili, and F. Penitani.

But most of all do I owe to my friend and colleague at the Tupou Col- 538 lege, the Rev. John Havea. Tongan poetry, condensed, pregnant, is full of allusions which require an intimate knowledge of the circumstances referred to for their understanding. This applies to the compositions of contemporaries. Much of the language and many of the allusions of the poetry of an earlier, even comparatively recent, time are unintelligible to 124 most living Tongans. Without Mr. Havea's help this work would have been impossible. What there is of fair interpretation of Tongan ways of thought in it is owing to him, and I count myself fortunate to have had many years of close association and intimate friendship with a man so intelligently interested in the past and bravely hopeful for the future of his people. I would have this paper be a memorial of our many conversations, often extending far into the night, either in his room or in mine, at Nafualu.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

ULUVALU

539 There was once an eight-headed demon (*nifoloa*), named Uluvalu, who
773 stole a girl and took her down to Pulotu. But a youth who loved her
plucked up the reed that closed the road to Pulotu, and went down and
775 found his sweetheart. They arranged that the girl should caress the
[824] demon's heads, and so soothe him off to sleep, and that when he was
asleep she should steal off with her lover. This was done, and the pair
returned safely to the world of men.

The *nifoloa* (long-tooth) are a class of supernatural beings, appearing
776 usually in human shape, generally maleficent, indeed cannibalistic. The
adjective *faka-nifoloa,* is used of that which is bizarre, outrageous. It is
776 impossible to make a hard and fast distinction between *nifoloa, faahikehe,*
192 *tevolo,* and *otua,* though *otua* has appreciated in dignity through its
application to the Christian Deity. Tregear (34, *niho*) mentions Ruahine-nihoniho-roroa, the Tahitian goddess of strife, cruelty, and murder.

A TRIP TO PULOTU

539 Gifford has published the well-known story (22, pp. 169-70), of which
the following is a brief version, added because of the new detail of the
773 role played by Fakafoimaka.

775 Haelefeke, Fakafoimaka (or Fakafuumaka), and Faifaimalie journeyed
[114] to Pulotu to Hikuleo, who, on their arrival, bade the denizens of Pulotu prepare food for the visitors. When the food was set before them, Hikuleo told his guests that they must eat it all, otherwise their lives would be forfeited. Haelefeke and Fakafoimaka wept, conceiving it to be impossible to consume so much food, but Faifaimalie said to leave it to her, and setting to work she ate not only the food, but the rod on which it had been carried, the basket, and the leaves with which it was covered. Nothing was left, and Hikuleo was told that it was finished.

"Uoke, Uoke," (strange) he said.

Then he bade them gather the fruit from a vi tree (*Spondias dulcis*), so laden with fruit that not a single leaf could be seen. He said that all must be collected; if one were left they should die. Then Fakafoimaka and Faifaimalie wept, but Haelefeke said to leave it to him. So he lay spread out beneath the branches, and, when the gods shook the tree, he caught all the fruit in his tentacles, not one escaped him. When Hikuleo and the spirits (*kau nifoloa*) saw this they bade the three return to the world, but they made the road rough with sharp spikes, like the thorns of the shaddock. Now Haelefeke and Faifaimalie wept, but Fakafoimaka said to leave this difficulty to him. Then he rolled about on the sharp spikes, and smoothed the road, so that they ascended safely to this world.

599 773 Accordingly, while the ceremonies were still being carried on, Tautalakimamana called to the maiden, "Hinasioata, come, get on me, and let us go." Only then, when they heard her called, did the people realize that this was the far-famed Hinasioata, for whom so many things had been reserved. Like a flash Vaitokelau ran to stop her, but he was already too late. As the rock carrying Hina passed out through the reef he used an incantation (*tuputupulefanua*) to make the sea rough around the island. Then he swam into the sea, and swam in pursuit, but when he passed through the reef, the rock, which sailed swiftly, was far off. But Hina prayed the rock to wait, saying, "Ah, Tautalakimamana, Vaitokelau will perish."

"Yes, well," answered the rock, "we shall wait, since it is your wish." So they stayed, and when Vaitokelau reached them he climbed up on the rock, and they went on together to Samoa, where they found the people wearing mats, mourning for Hina. Great was the joy at the maiden's return. Then was she wed to Vaitokelau, and they lived happily together. Since then the rock with its fragrant shrubs has stood in their compound, a beautiful verdant sight.

Hina, Her Brother Tulifaukiave, and Sinilau

[1114] Gifford (22, pp. 184-187) has already presented a version of this tale. The following account differs in several particulars from his.

There were once a man named Fuaimaile (Fruit of myrtle) and his wife Sakoimaile (or Hakoimaile, Offspring of myrtle), to whom were born a daughter, Hinalekia, and, later, a son, Tulifaukiave. The children grew up, and one day, while they were amusing themselves on the beach, the girl, looking out to sea, suddenly exclaimed, "Gracious, one boat, two, three, four, five, six—ten boats!"

"What is it, Hina?" asked her brother in surprise.

"Look," she replied, "at the big fleet of canoes approaching." Surprised as they were, they did not run away, but waited on the beach to see what the fleet might be.

Now both Hina and her brother were surpassingly handsome, and when the canoes came to land they proved to be the fleet of Sinilau, who had heard of Hina's beauty, and had come to take her as his bride. So soon as Sinilau stepped ashore and saw the maiden's loveliness he guessed it was she whom he sought. He asked her if she were Hina, and when she replied that she was he invited both her and her brother to come on board his fleet, and sail away with him to his country. And so they went with Sinilau, and when they arrived in his country a fine large house was assigned to Tulifaukiave, but Sinilau and Hina dwelt in a house that was

POEMS RELATING TO DEATH

764 Fortunately, accounts of the burial ceremonies of great chiefs before
ancient practice had been modified by Christianity have been preserved.
114 Those of the London Missionary Society's missionaries (40), who landed
in Tonga in 1797, arrived shortly before the death of the Tui Kanokupolu
Mumui (Apr. 29, 1797). Mariner has described the burial of his friend
and protector, Finau. Finau's daughter died shortly before her father, and
the rites in connection with her burial are also described (28, vol. 1, pp.
296-299, 310-329). Good examples of the wailing (*tangi*) raised immediately
after a death is also given by Mariner (28, vol 1, p. 134; vol. 2,
chapters I, V).

764 Burial usually follows soon after death; but special affection or honor
was sometimes shown to the dead by keeping the body unburied for a
long time. Sometimes, it would seem, the body thus kept was put into a
sort of coffin. I have heard such a funerary casket described as *vaka* (boat
or canoe), a striking term. In all probability the coffin was actually a boat.
Embalming was seldom, if ever, resorted to; and when the putrefying body
became offensive it was referred to as *namu kakala* (fragrant smelling).

349 The most remarkable monuments in Tonga are the Trilithon, Haamonga-
a-Maui, in Heketa, eastern Tongatabu, and the stone-faced burial vaults
764 of great chiefs, especially of the Tui Tonga, most of which are also in
eastern Tongatabu. These are terraced, rectangular mounds, of one to five
tiers. On the island of Niuafoou is a burial mound of rather different
shape, being roughly oval, though it is so overgrown with scrub that it is
difficult to get a precise idea of its shape. It is about 40 yards long, and
3 or 4 feet high, faced with rough blocks of stone. Its shape would be
more perfectly oval were it not that the roughness of the masonry makes
769 angles. This is the burial ground of high chieftains, but is not treated with
the respect that would be anticipated. People sometimes cut firewood from
it today. They say that the chiefs buried there are not *paun*, mischievous,
to them. This modern rationalism, however, is not approved by all the
elders. More strictness is observed in cleaning this cemetery, the work being
never undertaken except at the bidding of one of two chiefs, neither of
whom lives in the island. Doubtless they are both *fahu* to the chiefs
[602 buried there. (Relatives of superior social rank are *fahu*, especially one's
[593 sister and father's sister, and their children.) The following poems contain
[604 references to the ghost ship from Pulotu, and to other ways of reaching
[605 Pulotu. Pulotu as the far-off island, however, seems to have been most
prominently in the people's belief, as there is a very substantial agreement
775 among observers who had the opportunity of learning the conceptions of the
[538 Tongans before they were influenced by Christianity. Vason (37, p. 150)
relates that Tongans, conversing about one who had lately died, said "he

crown, or a long lock at either side of her head, stiffened with a dressing of lime. She would also have a train of girl attendants, her *lahi*. She was taken to be the bride of Mulikihaamea, who gave her to Tangatailoa, the composer of this poem in honor of his patron and in praise of love. 539 584

Two copies of the text were available, one of which contained only the first two stanzas. Numbering at the side of the third stanza in the copy containing it indicates some uncertainty as to the correct order of the lines. The portion found in only one copy commences at the nineteenth line. [127]

'Ofa 'i he anga e,	How I love her way,
'Ofa 'i he anga kuo makehe,	Love her way that is her's alone,
Tuamafa u'ui kei vale;	Little green pigeon still unlearned;
He ta heua tu'ula ta'ahine,	A maiden's the pigeon we're seeking,
Manoa tu'ona ke hele.	Tug at the cord to entrap her.
Lata kita he lupe 'ata-lele.	My joy is the pigeon who flees as the shadow.
He a e he.	*He a e he.*
Kula pe ha lei pe fetu'u te,	Bead or ivory or floating star,[1]
Si-lopa pe ha fekite-tele.	Girdle or scented wreath.
He manu e to'a koe fefine,	A venturesome bird is woman,[2]
Situ'a peau 'i-'ate;	I turned away and was grieved;
Ne 'ikai launoa aipe,	Not for aye is her careless chatter,
'I he me'a tofo pe ne fefe.	No matter what strange thing befall.
Fiu fili 'ae fanga-hahake	The eastern strand is weary of wonder
'I hono tangata pe kuo 'i fe.	About its man, where he may be.
Tala-ange kuo lata he lave,	Tell them my joy is in dalliance,[3]
He taofi 'e he hala siale,	The road of the *siale* has kept me;
Ke kahoa he tui ve'eve'e,	On my neck the string of sweet blossoms,
Tuitu'u fakava'e siale.	My cincture entwined with *siale*.
Ka fehu'i mai Inu-mo-me'a,	If Inumomea ask about me,[4]
Tala-ange ko Mulikiha'ame'a	Tell him Mulikihaamea[5]
Kuo hao hono toulekeleka,	Is still most handsome of men,
Moe angalelei kuo 'uea	And his kindliness has been moved
Ene toki mata-ngalo 'a Vaea.	To be forgetful of Vaea.
Tala ki he Hau ke nau ekea,	Tell the King that they seek me,[6]
Ke mua-vaka aki ki Lakepa,	Set the course by Lakepa,[7]
Ma'u-kuo-ma'a mo Tapukitea,	Maukuomaa and Tapukitea,[8]
Alo-tolu moe Kau-kupenga,	Alotolu and Kaukupenga,
Tapua-tamata mo hingano-leka,	Tapuatamata and *hinganoleko*,[9]
Unuoi-siale moe tetefa,	*Unuoisiale* and *tetefa*,
Pea omi moe Ao-'o-Uvea	And bring Aoouvea
Ma'ane teunga ki ha po-he'a.	To adorn her for a night of dancing.
'Ofa 'i he anga e.	How I love her way.

POEM OF TEUKAVA

(Also called the Recitation about Tukuaho)

Teukava, a chief of Hihifo, Tongatabu, is mentioned by Mariner (28, vol, 1, p. 279-280), who arrived in Tonga in 1806, and became closely associated with Finau Ulukalala, whom he accompanied and assisted in his wars.A These wars had commenced several years before Mariner's arrival. 114 669 634 [175]

A [See 2 and 3: Mariner, this file--Analyst]

114 Although he was at some pains to discover what had preceded his own
669 coming, and records with considerable detail and picturesqueness the events
of which he was himself an eye-witness—or rather Martin does from the
634 material he obtained from Mariner—yet he presents the whole matter in
wrong perspective. This he does through regarding Finau as the king, and
all who fought against him as opposing lawful authority. As a matter of
fact Finau is to be regarded as the rebel, to whose ambition much of the
643 misery of the time is due. In most of the accounts the prestige of the Tui
Tonga, which traditionally should have been paramount, falls into the background.
The power of the Sacred King, indeed, was hastening to its fall.
Bishop Blanc (4, Chap. VII) furnishes a corrective from the side of the
Tui Tonga.

Mumui, the Tui Kanokupolu, died in 1797, leaving a daughter, Tupou
175 Moheofo, and a son Tukuaho, both claimants to their father's position. (In
643 12, p. 182, I have misplaced Tupou Moheofo.) Tukuaho was at the time
on the island of Eua, and the lady made good use of her rival's absence
from the seat of government, and had herself installed as Tui Kanokupolu.
Tukuaho, coming from Eua, ejected her, and became king himself.

The Tui Kanokupolu is head of the Haa Ngata (Tribe of Ngata).
[619] Finau, or Ulukalala, is head of the Haa Ngata Tupu, a junior branch of
[634] the same tribe. Finau espoused the cause of Tupou Moheofo, but Tukuaho
retained his kingship. Tukuaho's rule was harsh and tyrannical, and in
175 1799 he was assassinated by Tupou Niua, with the connivance of Finau,
and civil war blazed forth. Vason was an eye-witness of the fighting of
669 the next few months, and his account furnishes an excellent framework into
[114] which to fit native traditions. The records of Vason and of the London
Missionary Society's missionaries, who came to Tonga on the ship *Duff*,
have been followed by Miss Farmer (19).

Tongan tradition records two great battles, both of which are recounted
175 by Vason (37, pp. 158-191). The first of these, the battle of the Toafa
669 (Sea Flats) was fought in 1799. Hihifo, led by the chiefs of the Haangata,
726 Ata, Vahai, Ahomee and Vaea, strove to avenge their fallen head, Tukuaho.
634 In the earlier stages of the fighting they gained some successes against Finau
and his party. Hahake, the eastern district of Tongatabu, mainly supported
Finau, and very soon reinforcements were brought from Haapai and Vavau.
Finau's own chief seat of authority was Vavau. In these early successes
of the Hihifo party, Mulikihaamea, who, Vason relates, contrary to the
[643] popular expectation joined Finau, was killed. I have assumed, though with
diffidence, that this Mulikihaamea is the Tui Kanokupolu mentioned in the
lists of these kings. If that be so, he seems not to have been formally installed,
and his making common cause with Finau would perhaps be in an

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Archaeology of Tonga

By W. C. McKern

INTRODUCTION

In Tonga, as elsewhere in Polynesia, there is little break between pre- 128
historic and historic culture. The archaeology and ethnology overlap and blend. The present work, therefore, is a study of archaeological remains 128
which takes the fullest advantage of available traditions, ethnological evidence, 127
and historical accounts that relate to ancient structures.

As a member of the Bayard Dominick Expedition of Bernice P. 114
Bishop Museum, I was afforded the opportunity for a general but careful survey of Tongan archaeology during a period extending from September, 1920, to June, 1921.

The extent of my work would have been greatly lessened but for the 000
active interest and cooperation of Her Majesty the Queen of Tonga and Prince William Tungi, and for the sanction and assistance of the Tongan Government through the offices of the Premier, the Honorable Tui Vakano. My thanks are also due to Mateialona, Kalaota, Solomon Ata, Joele Pangia, Vaia, Tuita, Tamale, Malupo, Matauvave, John Havea, Uhatafi, Malakai Lavulo, Kautai, Fakatava, Mary Valevale, and many other Tongans whose services are no less appreciated. Among European residents who rendered me valuable assistance are Mr. John Clemens, Mr. A. Cunningham, Mr. W. H. Murley, Mr. W. Scott, Mr. A. B. Wallace, Father Deguerry, the Rev. R. C. G. Page, the Rev. Saunders and the Rev. E. E. V. Collocott.

The spelling of native names and terms as used in this paper follows that 128
adopted by Gifford (10, p. 4).

The Tongan archipelago comprises more than one hundred islands. The 133
largest of these, Tongatabu, has a maximum length of about 25 miles. Many of the islands are so small as to call for a statement of size in terms of rods rather than miles.

With the exception of a numerically small chain of volcanic islands, bordering the easternmost margin of the archipelago, Tonga is formed largely of coral rock. Some islands, however, consist of a base of volcanic tuff superficially covered with coral and foraminiferal limestones, and attain not inconspicuous elevations. Eua, for example, is 1,070 feet high. The tallest of the volcanic islands, Kao, attains an elevation of 3,380 feet. Most of the islands, however, are relatively flat and low.

The archipelago is naturally divided into three groups of islands, inter-

[no pp. 1-2]

133 valed by considerable stretches of water. These groups, from north to south, are Vavau, Haapai, and Tongatabu. Of the three, Tongatabu has the largest land unit in an island which lends its name to the entire group. This island was, culturally and politically, the center of Tongan life.

121 Archaeological investigation, extended to cover as much of each of the
172 three geographical divisions of the Tongan archipelago as available time and
184 the distribution of favorable sites warranted, failed to discover any important
128 differences between the archaic remains found in different islands. This
cultural uniformity renders it desirable to treat the whole of Tonga as a unit
in the present report, rather than to give separate archaeological surveys of
any sort of geographic subdivisions.

144 The inhabitants of Tonga are, predominantly, full-blooded Polynesians.
161 Probably never much exceeding twenty-five thousand in number, the Tongans
have approximately that population today.

128 An apology is perhaps due for presenting my subject in a form which requires the reader to peruse the entire detailed outlay of evidence in order to obtain a gist of the pertinent facts and the related conclusions. It seems to me that most of the detail is essential to a general understanding of involved problems, and that conclusions, even general remarks, are devoid of meaning when separated from the detail of listed phenomena. I have, therefore, included all the involved data in the running discussion, in order to give the specifically interested student an intelligent, unabridged representation of the field.

172 On first consideration, the archaeological outlook in Tonga is not promis-
114 ing. The student finds here a mottled field, poor in stratified deposits
attributable to human sources, but rich in artificial monuments of earth and
114 stone. The greater part of these have not been carefully examined by pre-
ceding investigators. Such as have been found mentioned in published
accounts have generally been treated as of unknown or doubtful origin.
173 Local mythology has taken full advantage of these wonders and has accounted
for their presence in many fanciful ways. There is, however, a much more
plausible group of traditions, practically free from dependence upon super-
human agencies, accounting for these structures in a not illogical manner.
173 These traditions, surprisingly consistent in their wide repetition and flatly
114 historical in style, have too frequently been overlooked altogether or pur-
posely disregarded by investigators.

172
of curiously curved and crossed lines that certainly cannot be even the poorest of repre- 345
sentations of English letters (fig. 5). A young Tongan, who was present at the time 212
of my visit readily identified these figures as shorthand characters, such as are taught
at the Government and Wesleyan colleges at Nukualofa. They are patently modern
markings.

Professor Wragge of Auckland is reported to have identified Maka- 172
hokovalu as a religious site connected with the sun worshipping practices 345
of the primitive Tongans. I have failed to find any archaelogical evidence 346
of sun worship, and Gifford (12) reports the absence of any evidence that 114
sun worship was ever practiced by the Tongans. In spite of reports to the contrary, the mound is not intentionally orientated except with reference to the shoreline.

Makahokovalu shows the finest structural workmanship seen in Tongan 172
esi. There are more imposing structures from a standpoint of size, particu- 345
larly height, but in size of the stones in the retaining walls and the degree 764
of skill in masonry, they compare favorably with the best executed langi platform tombs of the ancient Tongan rulers. In fact, this *esi* would be an excellent example of a one-tier langi except for the absence of fine sand or black pebbles, characteristic of the grave mounds. The place is actually referred to as a tomb in one myth recorded by Gifford (13, p. 68).

The name Makahokovalu may possibly be derived from an original 172
number of eight large stones constituting the westernmost wall, only six 345
of which are now in place. No other arrangement of eight stones could
be found. In this connection it should be noted that eight seems to have 172
been a favorite number to associate with mounds. For example, Lefelefevalu 345
(Eight-sexual organs, p. 30): Kafoa, eight-stones at Kafoa (p. 11); Siaha- 801
lavalu (Mound-of-eight-roads). However, in no one of these three structures was the number eight descriptive of structural peculiarities. It is suggested that the number eight, when so used, may have been a conventional term signifying many, or a well balanced number, and had no numerical significance.

7. Mangafakinanga, near Kolonga, Tongatabu. 172

The *esi* of Mangafakinanga consists of a rectangular mound with a convex upper 345
surface, surrounded by a low perpendicular wall of dressed coral slabs placed on edge
and end to end. It is said to have been the *esi* of the Tui Tonga Tuitatui, a famous [173]
ancient Tongan monarch generally accredited with the building of the great trilithon [643]
(p. 63). The structure is 35 feet long, 21.5 feet wide, and is 3 feet high. The retaining walls average 1 foot in height and 0.7 foot in thickness. Most of the stones of the south wall have been removed in comparatively recent times. The wall stones are about 3 feet long. All stone surfaces are rather smoothly dressed and componant parts of the wall fit snugly together. Corner pieces are lapped with no apparent regard as to which piece is outside. The westernmost wall extends in a direction N. 20° E.

Near the northeast corner of the mound and rising from the retaining wall, is a large monumental slab which measures: length above the ground 8.3 feet, width, 5.9 feet, thickness 1.4 to 2 feet. Though leaning inward at an angle of 75° from the

central figure on every side were numerous skeletal remains so disposed as 172
to imply that the individuals represented had been placed sitting about the 764
walls, facing the center. These were reckoned to have comprised the "companions," those who were elected to accompany the dead chieftain, as servants, to the world of the dead. There was about 1 foot of fine, dark colored dust covering the floor, the probable remains of material goods, such as fine mats and tapas, buried with the dead out of respect to his wealth and station.

Mariner (16, vol. 1, p. 144) gives the measurements of a vault observed 127
in Haapai as 8 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 8 feet deep. 172
764

LANGIS

DISTRIBUTION AND GENERAL FEATURES

Native traditions and records name 45 langis, 37 are on Tongatabu, 6 in
the Haapai group and but 2 in Vavau. Of the langis on Tongatabu, 28 are 172
in or near the town of Mua, the modern survival of Lapaha, the ancient 764
capital of the Tui Tonga dynasty.

All the 45 langis referred to by combined sources of information were [127]
actually examined, although specific identification of some is doubtful, and [128]
for a few of them was not attempted.

In structural type, langis do not adhere to a uniform technique warranting group classification. Some langis are not to be distinguished, structurally, from *faitoka*; others are composed of from one to five rectangular platforms, each retained by perpendicular stone walls. Where a plurality of platforms occurs, the smaller are mounted upon the larger in regular succession, according to corresponding differences in lateral dimensions, to form stepped pyramidal structures. Many of these are of imposing size. One or more stone vaults, entered from the flat top of the structure, are present in most langis, but there are exceptions to this rule (pp. 55, 114).

The one attribute which all langis share, the one factor which serves to 172
group them, is use; they are invariably the tombs of important members of 764
the Tui Tonga "family," which includes not only the immediate family of the 644
reigning king but also the family of the Tamaha, of the Tui Tonga Fefine and of certain closely related chiefly families such as that of the Tui Haatakalaua. However, in langi burials there was no confusion or uncertainty as to rank.

All stones in the retaining walls and also in vaults, judging from reports 172
and from the single vault examined, are rectangularly dressed and fashioned 764
of coral "sandstone" or reef limestone. Of the two materials, "sandstone" by far predominates.

Both Cook (4, vol. 1, pp. 312-314) and Forster (9, vol. 1, pp. 451-452) [175]
observed and to a certain extent described some of the langis at Mua, Tonga- [114]

172 tabu, although they mistook these structures for variations of the *faitoka*
175 which they had seen elsewhere. Both describe the *faletolia* as intact and
764 apparently kept in good condition on the langi tops, and speak of wooden
[114] images or representations of men which were seen on one of the langis.
D'Urville (5, vol. 4, pp. 279-280) also mentions something of the kind. Cook describes the images in the following words:

> One of the houses, situated over a grave mound on a langi, contrary to what we had seen before, was open on one side; and within it were two rude, wooden busts of men; one near the entrance, and the other farther in. On enquiring of the natives, who had followed us to the ground, but durst not enter here, what these images were intended for? they made us as sensible as we could wish, that they were merely memorials of some chiefs who had been buried there, and not the representations of any deity. Such monuments, it should seem, are seldom raised; for these had, probably, been erected several years ago. We were told that the dead had been buried in each of these houses; . . .

If the example mentioned by Cook is not unique, this practice of erecting wooden or other effigies over the langi or *faitoka* was at least a most unusual one.

172 To ascertain to what degree, if any, the langis are oriented with reference
764 to any recognized standard, the trends of the walls of thirty rectangular
langis were recorded. According to compass measurements, the direction of
[126] the northwest walls and that of the approximately parallel southeast walls
vary from N. 9° E. to N. 40° E. One wall of Otalafava trends N. 74° E. The trend of the northeast and the southwest is likewise highly variable—N. 50° W. to N. 82° W. Thus the variability exceeds 30° out of a possible 45°. Furthermore, little attention seems to have been given to corners; in the 30 langis measured, the corner angle varies from 82° to 99°. These figures make it obvious that the alignment of the langis is out of accord with any standard system of orientation.

There is no possibility of doubt as to the origin and purpose of *faitoka* and langis. They are the burial places of Tongan chieftains who governed the ancestors of the present native inhabitants from a remote prehistoric period into historic times. Some of the *faitoka* are still in use. The workmanship envolved is not such as to suggest any foreign or lost art, but rather, logically conforms to the primitive methods and tools which the Tongans are known to have had, and generally harmonizes with the state of primitive Tongan culture.

STRUCTURAL TYPES

172
764 To simplify presentation, it seems advisable to treat the various langis as
128 constituting six distinct structural types (fig. 17). Although there are many

trunks and surmounted by a high reed fence. The eastern gate was defended by "a kind of portcullis, and flank defenses of rough logs . . .". Chevron (18, p. 44, footnote) speaks of stone walls and corbel arch gateways, but investigation proved this to be South Sea fiction. 172 712 [114]

A survey of the existing ruins revealed a ditch and inner earthen wall surrounding an area oval in shape, save for the end formed by the shore of the lagoon (fig. 45, *a*). The moat, now largely effaced, is about 20 feet wide and 5 to 7 feet deep. The earthen wall is of similar width and 4 to 7 feet high. Three gateways cross the moat and pass through the adjoining walls.

The strength of this fortress, as historically related, was somewhat due to the fact that there were only three sides to defend. No boats could approach by way of the shallow, mud-bottomed lagoon.

It is through a study of traditions regarding the fortress of Pea that some sort of a time sequence is established for the other forts of Tongatabu. The first series of events that can be more or less definitely placed in a chronological order was an alliance between the two chieftains Vahai and Ahomee, both of the Hihifo district of Tongatabu, against the people of the district of Hahake. These two great warriors built a fortification at Poha, which I failed to locate. Tui Pelehake, the chieftain of Haatalafale and a great leader of the Hahake people in the early part of the nineteenth century, then set about to build a fortification entirely across Tongatabu, in a northeast-southwest direction, cutting off Hahake from the Hihifo district. This ambitious undertaking, now called Pelehake's ditch, was to all practical purposes completed before Vahai discovered the activities of his enemies and put a stop to the work by force of arms. 172 173 712

The ditch and earthen wall remain in part. Starting from the beach Mahafa, near Vatuu, this fortification passes between Houma and Vatuu, passes Hule, meanders through Nukunuku, meets and merges into the outer ditch of the Kolovai fortification at Teekiu, reappears between Teekiu and Masilamea and ends at Fahefa on the Hihifo coast. The ditch is on the Hihifo side throughout. In places the wall is 7 feet in height and the ditch has a maximum depth of 6.7 feet.

After Pelehake's defeat, two of his allies, Takai and Fae re-fortified the town of Pea. Soon after this, Vahai died. His death marked a scattering of those chieftains who had allied themselves to his cause.

9-10. Utulau and Houma, Tongatabu. 172

The fortress at Utulau was built by Valu and the defenses about Houma were built by Vaea. Both of these fortifications, which remain largely intact, are similar in all respects to the other fortifications on Tongatabu. 712

11-12. Koloteekiu and Kolovai, town of Kolovai, Tongatabu.

These fortresses were built by Ohuafi, a son of Motuapuaka, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Koloteekiu had probably been previously fortified, but the walls and moats needed repairing and refencing. A survey of the remains of this fortress

EXCAVATIONS

LOCATIONS

172 Available sites for archaeological excavations in Tonga are of two kinds, 114 old burial places and kitchen middens. The burial places, though plentiful enough, are so definitely remembered in the folk history of the people that, [769] to their minds, excavation would be no less objectionable than the desecration [121] of a modern cemetery. The kitchen middens are so few in number and represent such small accumulations of debris, both in area and in thickness, that only the determination to leave no possible source of information untouched made their investigation desirable. In the end, the discovery of pottery alone justified the amount of time and energy expended.

Exceptional conditions permitted the opening of five old burial places. One *faitoka* on the island of Motutapu and two langis on the island of Tongatabu were deliberately opened. One unknown *faitoka* was entered in excavating what was reported to be an old god-house *paepae*, on the island of Pangaimotu. The fifth burial place was accidentally uncovered in excavating a kitchen midden at Nukualofa.

The kitchen middens excavated are: 1 at Nukualofa; 1 on the island of Pangaimotu; 2 in caves on the island of Eua; 1 in the town of Mua; 1 on the island of Motutapu. All of these are in the Tongatabu group; no kitchen middens of any description rewarded the search in the Haapai and Vavau [128] groups. The results of excavations are included in the following brief descriptions.

PANGAIMOTU SITES

KITCHEN MIDDENS

133 The island of Pangaimotu, situated about 2¼ miles northeast of Nukualofa, has an area of less than one square mile and a maximum elevation of 311 about 15 feet. Although uninhabited, the island supports several very productive yam and fruit gardens, cared for and harvested in season by inhabitants from the main island.

133 On the southwest coast of the island, the sea has encroached upon the land to produce a perpendicular, earthen bank above the beach line, 2 to 6 feet in height and several hundred feet in length. Inland from this exposure, the land surface dips downward, indicating that the sea has cut in to the very center of the original embankment. The foundation of the mound seems to have been a sand dune. The upper strata, to a varying depth, are 172 composed largely of ash, charcoal, marine shells, and burnt coral rock. Near

clean beach sand. The only interesting material found at this site was pottery (p.). 172
There is no evidence of European contact.

BURIAL PLACES

1. At langi Tamatou (p. 55), a fortunate and unexpected opportunity 172
affording itself, it was decided to excavate this structure, hoping thereby
to determine the nature of the stone vault, to obtain specimens of primitive 121
artifacts, to acquire data on burial methods, and to substantiate or confound
the truth of the tradition that a wooden image constituted the only burial
therein.

The opportunity for investigation was limited in scope of time to a 172
single day. Consequently, the maximum available force of men, under the 114
direct orders of a high Tongan chieftain, was set to work. The consent
of these men to participate in such labor was only obtained through chiefly [122]
command.

In an endeavor to locate a vault, or burial deposit, holes 4 to 5 feet deep were 172
sunk at intervals of 6 feet into the top of the mound. A large pocket of fine, light-
colored sand, such as invariably surrounds native burials, was encountered near the 121
center of the examined area. This pocket was extensively and carefully excavated
but produced nothing. Further excavation produced equally negative results.

It is remarkable that such an extensive and well built stone structure, designed to 172
be used as a king's cemetery, should lack a stone vault. According to tradition, all 764
such structures are so equipped, and many of them are known to contain vaults. It is
equally certain that Tamatou has no vault.

This tomb belongs to the small series of stone tombs preceding the great
stone langis which occur so numerously in ancient Lapaha (p. 96). There
is reason to believe that it is among the first stone langis to be built in
Tonga and the absence of a vault tends to question the ancient existence
of stone vaults in Tonga. Investigation on a scale and of a nature that [128]
present native standards will not tolerate would be required to furnish
an intelligent answer to this question.

My stubborn presumption in calling this structure a tomb, in spite of 172
the negative evidence, seems justified by the extensive mythological refer- 764
ence to the place. Tradition states that no man was buried there and exca-
vation supported this statement. A failure to locate the wooden doll said 173
to have been buried there was to have been expected. The figure is said
by some to have been made of the soft wood of the fau (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*),
a material that would disintegrate and be lost in the surrounding soil in a
relatively short length of time.

2. At langi Folokamanu. 172

There is reason to believe that Folokamanu is one of the oldest langis in Tonga 764
(p. 69). A daughter of one of the early kings is said to have been buried here.

found to be much more plentiful in lower strata where the European elements were lacking. 172 The occurrence of pottery at various, scattered sites indicates a general rather than a peculiarly local use. 323 The ware may be described, briefly, as rude, indifferently made, and serviceable rather than ornamental.

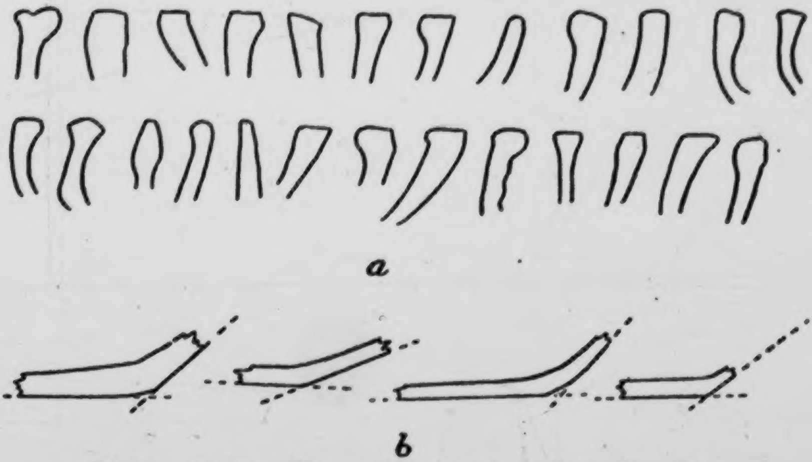

FIGURE 49.—Sketches of Tongan potsherds: *a*, rim profiles; *b*, base angles.

Though ethnologists have generally disregarded the presence of pottery 172 in any part of Polynesia, there are several published references to the primitive use of pottery in Tonga. 323 Cook (3, vol. 2, p. 21) says: "They [natives 175 of Nomuka] have some of the same sort of earthen pots we saw at Amsterdam [Tongatabu]; and I am of opinion they are of their own manufacture, or that of some neighboring isle." [171] [127] Forster (9, vol. 1, p. 471) saw pottery on Eua, of which he says:

"We likewise bought some small earthen pots, perfectly black with soot on the outside, and suspected them to be memorials of Tasman's voyage; but afterwards we rather believed that they were manufactured by the natives themselves." D'Urville (5, vol. 4, p. 281) finishes a paragraph on Tongan cooking methods with: ". . . enfin quelquefois ils les font bouillir dans les vases en terre qu'ils tirent des isles Viti."

Dillon (6, vol. 2, p. 81) contributes the following to the historical evidence: [171] "They perform the process of boiling in earth[illegible] pots of the manufacture of the Feejee Islands. . . ."

The accounts, few as they are, are conflicting. 172 Cook and Forster thought the pottery of local manufacture. 323 D'Urville and Dillon positively state that 127 114

172 it was brought from Fiji, but neither of these writers, whose works include
323 a great deal of material borrowed from previous reports, especially Mariner's,
127 were above expressing an opinion as a fact, even when the opinion was
114 appropriated from another writer, without personal investigation. Of the
four writers, Cook was the most careful observer and authentic reporter, but
his contribution is admittedly an opinion, of which Forster's statement is
probably a reflection.

172 Burton (1, p. 52) has shown that the Fijians were the best potters in
323 Oceania and it seems highly probable that Tongan pottery had its original
171 conception in Fiji (Pl. VI, *B*), but it seems altogether improbable that the
Tongans, using pottery rather extensively as it seems, went to Fiji for all
[181] their pots. The very character of the Tongan, with his alert resourcefulness,
striking adaptibility, and eager readiness to learn, contradicts such a
possibility.

[128] Unfortunately, the amount and condition of the material available from Tonga is such that a direct comparison with modern Fijian specimens is not as profitable as could be wished. However, such a comparison bears some fruit.

Fijian pottery consists of red and brown ware, lightly fired (20, pp.
38-39). In these respects it is identical to Tongan ware. Fijian ware
includes two distinct types, cooking pots and decorated vessels. The cooking-pot
ware seems identical in material and surface to a large proportion
172 of the Tongan potsherds. The decorated ware includes many prettily designed
323 drinking cups, vessels with compound bodies, handled ware, and
vessels with eccentric shapes, all more or less embellished with decorative
171 fillets and nodes in salient relief, and with incised lines and simple patterns
531 (8, pp 194-195). No examples of relief decoration, or of elaborate shapes,
were found in examining the Tongan ware. Not even the broken fragment
of a pottery handle was found. Incised lines and simple patterns decorate
several of the sherds, but the design and technique differ materially from
those I have seen on Fijian pottery, which is tempered with sand (24, p. 5).
172 The Tongan pieces show no apparent tempering of any kind, but may contain
a small amount of fine sand. The finer ware of Fiji is varnished, while
323 still hot, with an application of the gum of the *dakau* (19, pp. 357-359).
171 It is doubtful whether this surfacing would have long survived under conditions
accompanying the accumulation of kitchen refuse. In any case, no
such surfacing was seen on Tongan ware although some pieces exhibit
smooth, semi-glossy exteriors. A red surface was applied to some Fijian
vessels through the use of a vegetable stain (24, p. 5). A similar treatment
may account for the unnaturally bright red surfaces of some Tongan
sherds.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

121 pioneer missionary and explorer, who did much to make known
128 many islands of the Pacific. In the present compilation the collection of "Idiomatical Phrases" in the Tongan Vocabulary of the late Dr. Shirley Baker[1] has been included, as well as many
[114] expressions scattered throughout the body of that work. Valuable as Dr. Baker's work is, it is unfortunate that he has printed whole phrases as single words, and without literal translations or explanations. In almost every instance we have been able to separate into their component words and explain these expressions, but there is a small residuum that has not been elucidated by inquiries made among the Tongans of today. Baker's work has been in constant use, and we desire to acknowledge our general indebtedness to it. In the few instances where we have not been able to explain phrases published by him exact quotations have been made.

ORTHOGRAPHY

104 In orthography we have followed what seemed to be the easiest method for European readers. The nasalized *g*, written as *g* in the various Pacific dialects, we have written as *ng*. The pronunciation of course is like that of *ng* in the English word singer, and not like that in finger.

In Tonga itself animated discussion ranges around the letters
[797] *b* and *p*, two symbols which have had an unfortunate history. The
[212] Methodist missionaries, who first regularly reduced the language to writing, used only *b*. The French Marists, who followed a few years later, wrote *p*. Subsequently an effort was made by Dr. Baker to combine the two. It is indubitable that there are sounds which strike the ear as an English *b*, and others as an English *p*, and yet others which it is extremely difficult for the ear to distinguish certainly as the one or the other. But the attempt to combine the two symbols has only introduced fresh confusion, as the language does not seem to contain two systematized series of
[194] sounds, the one *b* and the other *p*. The Tongan ear finds the greatest difficulty in distinguishing an English *b* from an English *p*.

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[113] [1] Baker, Rev. Shirley W., An English and Tongan vocabulary, also a Tongan and English vocabulary. Auckland, N. Z., 1897.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

We
are fortunate, however, in that the Tongan collaborator has a wider 128
acquaintance than most of his fellows with the different parts of 114
the group.

Doubtless many ancient proverbs have perished. Every gener- 538
ation makes and forgets proverbs. The double process lies patently before our eyes in the Tonga of today. We are familiar with it in our own languages. What we have of the old phrases is probably but a residuum of the expressions that in successive generations have received the currency of common speech and have again dropped into oblivion.

METHOD

In dealing with these proverbs the method adopted has been 128
to give a literal translation of the Tongan phrase, though not always strictly word for word. Although we have followed Tongan rather than English idiom, we have not adhered so closely to Tongan idiom as to render the English ungrammatical or unintelligible. Our aim has been to follow Tongan idiom within the limits of intelligible English. This has been much easier in the case of short phrases like those in this collection than it would have been in translating longer passages. Following this translation is such explanation as is necessary to make clear the meaning and application of the Tongan phrase. In many instances a typical form of application has been indicated, but these uses should be regarded as merely typical, and not exclusive. In other cases nothing has been said about application, but if our efforts to make clear the meanings of the phrases have been successful, the manner of their application will be manifest. Except where special circumstances for the use of expressions have been explicitly mentioned it is safe to assume that what would seem a natural application to a European would seem so also to a Tongan. Where possible we have added stories connected with the expressions. Although doubtless some true derivations are indicated by these tales there are probably some cases where they are the fictions of popular etymology.

In the course of the work we have occasionally suggested English colloquialisms, and even slang, as of kindred meaning to Tongan phrases. Many of the Tongan expressions are of such a feet 6 inches apart; fore boom 69 inches aft of prow; after boom 75 inches forward of stern. The fore end of the float projected 31 inches in front of the first boom, the after end 18 inches behind the third boom. 501

TAFA'ANGA

Among the most elegant of Pacific outriggers, a few Tongan *tafa'anga* are known to have survived on the windward side (*liku*) of Tongatabu into the present century; in 1925 I saw the outrigger of one that was still in use at a village near the Haamonga trilithon, so the type is not yet extinct. A fine model of one 501 now in the Cambridge Anthropological Museum is of great historical as well as 114 ethnological value, for Thomson, who presented it, states in letters that it was made in 1891 by King George Tubou I when he was over 90, partly with his own hands and partly under his direct supervision. Thompson adds that the king was a great canoeman in his youth, and records (1894, p. 343) that "none could handle a *tafa'anga* laden with fish in a seaway as he". Thompson states that all the old men who saw it declared it to be accurate in every detail, yet an error has crept in, the arms of the U connectives crossing under the boom, an arrangement seen in none of the numerous canoes examined in 1925; in these, as also in Thomson's illustration (1894, p. 343), the arms invariably cross above the boom. The model has every appearance of having had its outrigger parts detached and subsequently reassembled after leaving Tonga; this would account for the discrepancy.

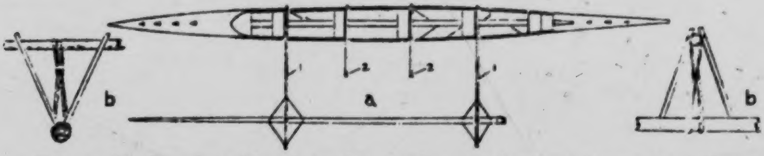

FIGURE 186.—Tongan *tafa'anga*: *a*, plan showing two functional booms (1) and two accessory ones (2), the bonito-rod rest and the median row of pegs shown somewhat conventionalized; *b*, details of outrigger attachment, stanchion lashings to boom omitted in original plate (after Paris).

As illustrated by this model, the *tafa'anga* is identical in all respects save 501 the float attachment with the Samoan bonito canoe (*va'a alo*). There is the same [171] long narrow hull, the same long decking at each end, ornamented with a median row of knobs to which snow-white cowry shells are tied as a decoration; the arrangement and number of the booms (two) are identical, as is also the fitting for the great bonito rod behind the aftermost thwart. There is also present a short median accessory boom, a pseudo-boom, not connected with the float. But in the float attachment the paired U type characteristic of the small dugout outriggers of Vavao and Haapai takes the place of the Samoan inserted stanchion type.

It appears, however, that the Samoan type of attachment was formerly employed, for in the figures of a "tafahanga de Tongatabou" given by Paris (1841, pl. 122) the details of both the hull and the outrigger are precisely those of the Samoan *va'a alo*; the attachment is identical, consisting as it does of two pairs of obliquely running inserted stanchions and a vertical cord brace passed around the float (fig. 186). In figures of the same type of Tongan vessel given by Cook (1777, pls. 16, 43), attachment is again shown quite distinctly as consisting of [171]

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

MISSIONARY [illegible] DIVINITY

AN

AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

The Author introduces himself to the Reader by an account of his life, till his appointment in the Duff. 114

I was born in an obscure village in one of the midland counties of this kingdom. My Father was able to give me a common education, but being afterwards reduced in his circumstances, I was under the necessity of going to service. Wishing to improve my situation, I engaged myself to a tradesman, in a populous town, in the neighbourhood. In learning his business, I was as diligent as the rest of my fellow labourers; but I had not the fear of God in my heart: I was addicted to swearing and cursing, a vice, by which, through a false supposition of the consequence and independence which it gives, high as well as low life is disgraced, and contaminated. I have often since wondered at the divine forbearance which spared

C

[p 17] [no pp. 1-16]

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

one who so trifled with the sacred name of his Maker. At length, after long neglecting the duties of the Sabbath, I was induced by a pious acquaintance, to attend a place of worship. I accompanied him for some time, like many others, I fear, from custom or for the sake of amusement. My conduct in the week was unaltered, my habit of swearing not forsaken. What I heard on the Sunday, however, was the means, at length, of exciting fears of a future reckoning, remorse of conscience, and resolutions of amendment. I could not commit sin with the same degree of ease, as formerly. I began to perceive its evil and the danger to which it exposed me. I looked back on my past life with shame, and forward to futurity with terror; and was glad to hear that I might obtain forgiveness, through the Son of God who died for transgression. A funeral sermon, some time after, so alarmed me with the apprehension of death and judgment, that I resolved to forsake every evil way, to live in the fear of God, to obey his precepts, and to seek eternal happiness. By the grace of God, I persevered in this resolution, till in about a year, as my views of the importance of religion expanded, I reflected with compassion on the distressing state of those who never heard of the gospel of pardon and peace through a Redeemer; and thought of removing to America; hoping that I might have the opportunity of following my trade among the American In-

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

114 dians, and might teach them, in the familiarity of conversation, those blessed truths of the gospel,
121 which I had learned to value. At this time, I heard of the design of sending Missionaries to the Islands of the South Sea. It excited a lively interest in my mind. I felt a desire to go; but not judging myself qualified for the important work of preaching the gospel to the heathen; when I heard that a vessel was to be fitted out for the conveyance of Missionaries, I offerred to assist in it, to forward the work. But the Directors of the London Mission, after examining my religious principles, and and my motives for accompanying the Missionaries, wished me to become one of their number. I consented, and was set apart with the rest, for this important undertaking, in the solemn manner which the public witnessed.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

PREFACE

THIS monograph is the result of a two-month visit to Tonga 114 101
during the summer of 1938-39. Some seven weeks of this
time were spent in the village of Pangai, Vava'u. We lived 122
in a Tongan-style house built for us in the middle of the 114
village. One of us could speak Tongan with fair fluency.

We do not claim any measure of completeness for our 121
study. It is quite obvious that in the time at our disposal,
completeness was unattainable. But we do feel that our
observations on various aspects of village culture have as
much objectivity as is usually claimed by students of society.
We also feel that it is worth putting on record something of
the life of the villager-commoner in a socially stratified
society. Previous description of this society has not always (114)
made it clear whether the reference of social custom or fact
is to the society as a whole or to the life of a chiefly class only.

It should be emphasized further that what we describe 121
refers specifically to the culture of this village as it is 177
believed and lived today. We have not tried to winnow the
chaff of post-European borrowing in order exclusively to
present the wheat of a now far distant aboriginal culture.
This would be difficult to do and hardly worth the trouble
insofar as Mariner and Gifford, separated by more than a
century of time, have already given us studies of this pre-
European culture that are models of their kind. With these
or similar studies as a sort of base line, the need today in
Tonga, as indeed in many another Polynesian community,
is for extended analyses of present-day culture in action.
Only by these analyses and the comparisons they make
possible will the student gain insight into many of the
problems of culture-contact and resulting culture-change.
Since we have at this time opportunity for culture-descrip- 121
tion only, we have left aside for the moment and for the 177
most part any extended study of the process of historical
change as it has affected Tongan culture. For the students 178

262 half of its meals. Women in the other households were
[226] apparently not prepared or not able to spend any or much
time on the reef.

[252] The staple fruit for all households at this time of the year is papaia, generally eaten after being baked in an oven. Oranges are beginning to ripen at this time but the villager is barely interested in them. Ripe bananas are reserved for
[439] feast-occasions and for possible export in order to increase
[434] the money-income of the household. One family in the village raises pineapples, but these are for export only.

Chicken and pork figure but rarely in the day-to-day diet. They are reserved for feast-occasions. The average villager probably eats either or both about once a week or even more occasionally, depending upon the frequency of feast-opportunities.

264 Formerly, food was always eaten outside of the dwelling
178 or sleeping-house. Today, this is still general practice. People eat in the cook-house, or under raised sun-shelters, or in the open air. Some few of the villagers, however, will sometimes serve a special feast inside the dwelling-house. There appears to be no particular reaction to this on the part of their guests although their forefathers of not many generations back would surely have felt horror if invited to enter a dwelling-house and there eat food.

262 In his study of the psychodynamics of Marquesan
264 society,[13] Kardiner uses as one piece of evidence for the
existence in the Marquesas of food-anxieties the fact that
121 "notwithstanding the adequacy of techniques of and
114 organization for production . . . there is first of all an overvaluation on eating itself, the emphasis falling on bulk and not on quality." Whatever the value of the other evidence that Kardiner adduces (cannibalism, *tapu* surrounding eating and cooking, etc.), one is inclined to suspect on the basis of this Tongan material that the facts of quantity-eating must be used with great caution when applied to a Polynesian people if inferences are to be drawn regarding fundamental food-anxieties in a Polynesian culture. In the first instance the Tongan tends to eat but one major meal

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[13] Kardiner, A., *The Individual and His Society*, New York, 1939, 220.

262 each day (the second meal is regarded more as a light
264 "snack" than as a true meal). It is natural that he should
121 eat in quantity just to satisfy an appetite sharpened by a
day of hard physical labour on his plantation. Probably
114 also, he must eat in quantity to secure sufficient food-elements
in a dietary that is made up largely of vegetable staples. In this dietary quality-food is largely absent. It would be difficult, therefore, for the Tongan to show anything but an emphasis on quantity to the exclusion of quality.

262 Probably the quality of Tongan food could be improved
by a return to old-time methods of preparing and cooking
178 food. But it is doubtful whether the Tongan would eat any
less even though the quality of his food were thus improved. As far as improving the quality of food is concerned through greater variety of vegetable and animal staples, this is impossible for the Tongan without radically upsetting the whole basis of his subsistence-economy.

We apparently do not have comparable figures which
262 would show the amount of food eaten by a labourer in our own
264 society during each day. One suspects that were this amount
121 known and all eaten during the course of one main meal, then
the quantity of food consumed by this labourer might not
114 differ greatly from the quantity of food eaten by the Tongan
during his one main daily meal. This Tongan material suggests, therefore, that even though the Tongan eating-emphasis falls on bulk, this may be largely due, not to food-anxiety (though other factors may still produce food-anxieties in the Tongan village-culture), but to the fact that the villager eats but one large meal each day of a diet that is deficient in quality-foods. Further analysis of Marquesan eating-habits might, in sum, lead to this conclusion also, and suggest even more general Polynesian characteristics in regard to eating-habits that would demand a psychodynamic explanation in terms other than an emphasis on underlying food-anxiety.

FEASTS

574 The various feast-occasions are mentioned through-
527 out this text, specially in the sections on the life-cycle,
where the functional and symbolic interrelations of feasts with the validation of special or critical situations

adoption is relatively rare in the village.[18] This may be due 597
to two factors. First, married but barren women are rare 597
in Pangai. Of all the married women in the village, 842
informants knew of but two who were definitely barren and
could have no children of their own. These were the two
women who had permanently adopted children. All the other
married women had or had had, children of their own. There
is therefore little incentive to permanent adoption. This 597
incentive is lessened by the second factor: there are no 613
strong lineage-feelings among the villagers, nor any strong 829
lineage-groupings. None of them had any association with,
nor any interest in, the classic lineages of Tonga as listed,
for instance, by Gifford.[19] We soon gave up asking informants [124)
for lineage-membership when it became evident that
they had knowledge of none or merely said they belonged
to the lineage of their father, that is, adding their father's
name to the generic term for lineage *(ha'a)*. For some
Polynesian groups the continuation in the next generation
of a lineage- or descent-group is a matter which is carefully
planned and bolstered with both blood and adopted children.
The Tongan villager seems almost indifferent to this matter.
He may be interested in the survival of his own personality
through the continued existence of his own blood-children
after his death. This is also a not uncommon feeling among
white people. But as for the continued existence of a family-line
which has value in and for itself, the villager fails to
make any motion of response. The situation would be [565)
different, of course, for the Tongan noble, who is proud of
his membership in one of the great named Tongan descent-groups.

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[18] Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 26) writes that "adoption was and is exceedingly common in Tonga." He adds that it "may vary from a truly earnest relation in which the child is taken into the bosom of the family, to mere formality." Our data from Pangai obviously suggest that these generalizations of Gifford's do not hold for all Tongan culture. [114)

[19] The statement of Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 30) that "some commoners are not aware of their lineage as such, but most are, and claim relationship to some chief, usually the one under whom they live," hardly applies to the Pangai commoners, none of whom knew their lineage, none of whom would dare to claim relationship to the lineage of the royal family. [565]

even though this knowledge is used only for diagnosis and 757
not specifically for treatment. Thus Sane, our housegirl, 759
came to us one morning suffering from pronounced and 753
painful swellings of the hand and arm. Everyone was 775
greatly mystified by these swellings until it was remembered 164
that on the day before, Sane had been gathering wild flowers in the village cemetery. She had noticed us on a nearby beach and had shouted and cried out to attract our attention. This noise had both disturbed, and been highly disrespectful to, the ghosts of the cemetery-dead. They had retaliated by sending swellings to Sane's arm and
hand. The swellings disappeared in a day or so, but had [757]
Sane consulted a medicine man, the treatment would have [759]
been a course of massage. We have no record of any method 775
of laying village ghosts by disturbing or rearranging the 789
bones of a suspected troublesome corpse—a method noted 114
by Collocott.

Many of the villagers are not averse to a consultation 757
with the white doctor provided they do not have to make a 177
two-hour trip to the hospital for this purpose, and provided,
too, they are not necessarily expected to carry out the white 743
man's treatment, especially if this treatment is surgical. They do not mind swallowing such medicines as aspirin or
sodium phosphate; in fact, they rather welcome the [554]
opportunity to do this since the taking of such drugs rather [521]
increases their prestige in the community by giving them something of endless interest to talk about with their friends.
Fear of the hospitalization and surgery which their govern- 743
ment provides for them at no cost is partly a fear based on 177
the novel and new-fangled, partly a fear based on the know- 829
ledge that in the past hospitalization has often been equiva- [657]
lent to a death sentence. This latter fear is very real among the villagers and, of course, often well-founded. Irresponsible white medical officers in the past have sometimes thought of their Tongan patients as unprotesting objects upon whom a surgical technique might be polished and refined, irrespective of whether or not immediate surgery was called for, and irrespective of resulting and perhaps unnecessary death.

This and other factors have resulted today in an attitude among many Tongans of going to hospital at so late

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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Pangai

Such formality however, plays no part in this more humble life. He would know how to be respectful did he suddenly find himself by strange fate to be a member of an exalted *kava*-circle. He would not know in detail, however, the rigid formality that rules the procedure whereby such a party can function. In somewhat similar fashion the ordinary white man may be dimly aware that strict protocol governs the formal social life of European royalty or of a President's dinner party. But in his own daily interpersonal relations, the formalities of the distant great exist only in a dream-world, not to be imitated and only occasionally to be a matter of serious discussion. 276 574 565 184 576 000

CRIME

The village seems in general to be law abiding. During our visit one man was arrested and placed in jail for adultery: he was living with a married woman who had run away from her husband because of mutual incompatibility. The husband, jealous of his wife's new-found happiness, laid a complaint against the adulterer. The latter evaded the police for some time by spending most of his days in the bush; but the police finally arrested him one Sunday evening when he was resting in his sleep-house after coming back to the village to attend church service. There was some tendency to criticise the police for what was considered a rather unsporting play on their part. Police would not bother to arrest an adulterer unless a complaint was filed against such a person, even though the offence was well-known. The authorities seem to go on the principle of what is not complained about is not their concern. 674 684 674 625 684

Those who fall behind in annual poll-tax payments are arrested and jailed in Neiafu. 674 687

The villagers have great horror of stealing, though stealing itself is apparently rare. We were frequently warned against leaving our belongings unguarded in the village. We left them unguarded constantly and nothing happened to them. From many people we heard the sad story of one girl who is alleged at some time or other to have stolen a lead pencil. The girl is a marked character in the village. When we engaged her as a housegirl without knowing this terrible past history, many shook their heads 674 685 674 685 558 (114)

674
685
(558)
(114)

as if to expect the worst. But as far as we could judge, the girl was as honest as anyone else in the village. She is likely to suffer all her life, however, from a blackened character and may find marriage difficult because every possible bridegroom's parents will be unfavourable to her.

We heard of no cases of stealing from the bush-plantations though they are necessarily left unguarded for many hours out of each twenty-four.

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683
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There are no records of crime of violence against persons in the village, nor of such violent activities as brawling, fist fights, or knifings.

RELIGION

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829

No account of village life today can possibly be complete without some reference to the attitude of the villagers to religion, to the Christian religion, that is, as it is interpreted to the villagers by the various Christian churches. The Christian religion has become an integral part of village culture, as intimately a part of the culture as the pagan religion was to the Tongans before European contact.[29] For the villager today, there is no half-hearted acceptance, no perfunctory belief, no sham ritual. Christianity is for him a red-blooded Fundamentalism that permeates every aspect of his believing life. If it does not always turn the villager into a classic Christian as far as action is concerned, his only excuse, one supposes, can be that Christians in this sense are, and always have been, few and far between. As far as belief in the mythos of Christianity is concerned, the villager need yield to none, white Christians not excepted. This could be proved by many facts: by descriptions of church attendance, church services; by reproducing verbatim some

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[29] What is known of the religion of aboriginal Tonga has been ably summarized by Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 287-349). One is struck by the fact, in studying Pangai today, that the villagers seem to know practically nothing of ancient Tongan religion or its practices, nor do they appear to show the slightest interest in this religion. In a very real sense, there is no need for any such knowledge or interest. Christianity presents to the villager an eminently satisfactory solution to the problems that concern his relation to the supernatural world. Knowledge of ancient belief is a luxury that is reserved for the few Tongans who have better access to information about the ancient society than the Pangai commoner.

14: Thomson

OU9 Tonga OU9

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[For information on Thomson's role in Tonga, and for further information on his relations with the Tongans, see Category 645.]

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

PREFACE.

FOR the benefit of those to whom the name Tonga has an unmeaning sound, and latitude and longitude convey no distinct impression, let me say that the realm of King George Tubou will be found in the map under the name of the "Friendly Islands," about 1000 miles north of New Zealand, 300 miles east of Fiji, and 350 south of Samoa. 131

I count among the Tongans so many true friends that it would touch me nearly if I should seem in the following pages to have been lacking in recognition of their many admirable qualities. If I have spoken of their institutions with levity, it is because I have judged the nation from the standard of a European people, with whom, in intelligence, physique, and disposition, they are fit to be compared. I have printed these pages with the knowledge and permission of the chiefs best fitted to speak for the whole people; and when I refuse to treat seriously the fatal experiment of engrafting Western customs upon their own ancient and admirable polity, 114

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14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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114 I am only reproducing the sense of grotesqueness with which their present hybrid institutions inspire the best of them. Where I have laughed, they have laughed with me; what I have deplored, they have no less regretted.

For the materials of the slight historical sketch I am specially indebted to Tukuaho, Tungi, and Fatafehi; and I take this opportunity for thanking the Hon. Bolton Corney, M.D., by whose kindness I am able to reproduce the rare plates of Schouten's voyage.

ASCOT, *November* 1894.

here and there between them. A few cable-lengths to 000
the northward of our anchorage was the spot where the 175
privateer Port-au-Prince was treacherously taken by Finau 177
Ulukalala, and on the beach opposite to us the master and
crew were murdered. The two rusty iron guns among [501]
the ballast in the hold of our schooner are part of her
armament. To this event we are indebted for a book of 114
travels that closely approaches 'Robinson Crusoe' in style 175
and surpasses it in interest. Mariner, one of the sur-
vivors, spent scarcely four years among the people, yet his
account of the Tongans, elicited by questions put to him
by Dr Martin, leaves little to be added by later travellers.
The book so produced has become a classic: one does not
know which most to admire, Mariner's observation and
wonderful memory, or Martin's ingenuity, industry, and
pure style.[1]

As our visit to the king was to be one of state, we 643
had brought with us an old *matabule*, or master of cere- 644
monies, who landed with a root of kava to announce our 276
arrival. We followed him immediately afterwards along 574
the beach to the great native house occupied by the king.
Before we reached it we saw the old man coming down
from the unfinished church, followed by a train of his
matabules. We halted until a mat was spread under the
shade of some large trees, and his attendants formed a
kava-ring, a large oval, with the bowl facing the king.
Fatafehi then led me round outside the oval of sitting 643
men, and we took our seats on the king's left, with our 644
276
matabule between us and him. On my left was a white- 574
haired man with very bright eyes, who afterwards proved 576

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[1] Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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645 statue. Four years passed away, during which the
643 curious learned that an artist in Italy was carving the
651 marble at the very moment of the inquiry. But this
652 picture of the patient Italian artist failed to satisfy the subscribers, and I was entreated to track the sealed bag of silver, last seen in the hand of Sateki, and to set the question of its fate beyond a doubt. Sateki remembered the occurrence perfectly. He had given the bag to the Treasury clerk for custody in the safe. That was all he knew. It was the last clerk but one—he who was dismissed for embezzlement. I waded through the incoherencies of the Treasury book till I found the entry I wanted, "Revenue from the Paymaster—£1299, 13s. 6d.,"—the exact amount of the subscriptions—used for purposes of general expenditure. Let us charitably suppose that the purchase of a statue was really intended, and that, when the Premier published the financial statement in which this sum figured as revenue, the divers cares of office had chased the recollection of its purpose from his mind.

652 Among the disbursements for the past year was the following:—

Julian Thomas . . .	£50	0	0
Printing	37	10	0

177 A peripatetic journalist, writing under the pseudonym
114 of "The Vagabond," had passed through Tonga during the previous year, stopping some six hours in Nukualofa, and about half that time in Haapai and Vavau. He was bound for Samoa, where the political squabbles promised to furnish him with material for "copy." Lack of ac-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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quaintance with his subject never yet deterred a special 177 correspondent—least of all when he hails from Australia 114 —from writing about it. In a style founded upon that of Mr Pomponius Ego, the correspondent immortalised by Mr Jorrocks, he chatters unblushingly of personal adventures in every quarter of the globe, of those playful familiarities which personages seem to reserve for their intercourse with "specials," of the miracles which discriminating Nature disdains to reveal to less gifted mortals,—till the bewildered reader, forgetting the purpose of the letter, finds himself speculating whether Mr Julian Thomas was coeval with his grandfather, and possesses the gift of ubiquity and the personal friendship of the celebrities of half a century, or whether—— But the alternative is too discourteous to be set down here.

It so happened that he was smarting from an action for libel in which the plaintiffs, the Wesleyan Mission, had been successful, and the spectacle of their reverses in the religious strife in Tonga tempted him to turn aside and curse them. In seven long letters to the 'Melbourne Age,' he worked up his seven hours' visit into an indictment of their agents personally and their methods in general, contriving by the way to bespatter Mr Baker with the eulogy of faint dispraise. He wrote of the history of the islands, lacking, we may charitably suppose, the time to read more than the opening chapter of Mariner's 'Tonga,' which he glibly quotes as his authority for the remarkable statement that King George was the grandson of Finau, and that the latter murdered the Tui Tonga. He wrote of Mr George Brown, and so unlovely is the picture that he paints of the gifted Secretary of

114 177 Missions, that the reader instinctively scrutinises the line-spaces for the record of some affront offered to the special correspondent. "He calls upon me," says the guileless Vagabond, "as the heathen did upon Balaam, to also curse the Premier of Tonga." But not even the son of Beor could surpass Mr Julian Thomas in incorruptibility and a delicate sense of honour; for he at least allowed the Balak to offer burnt sacrifice, and the latter, if we may believe him, feared the blunting influence of even a dinner upon his sensitive conscience. "I may hint here that I am bidden to sit at meat with the king, . . . but neither from monarch nor Premier nor missionary could I accept the slightest hospitality. I do not know what I may have to say about each, and keep perfectly unfettered and unbiassed by any considerations which the reception of any courtesies might enforce upon me. My attitude in this matter rather offends the Tongan Premier."

It is a fine image this of the pressman, after years spent in the hurly-burly of colonial journalism, so punctilious of his honour that he puts behind him the temptations of a meal, lest they turn him from the stern duty which he owes to society. Would that no rude hand had been
652 put forth to smutch so fair a picture! But there in
645 damning evidence lay the voucher "for the right of
[114] reprinting 'Holy Tonga,'" signed by The Vagabond as claimant, and by its side a copy of Mr Baker's letter inviting him to fix his own honorarium, and his reply naming the modest sum of £50.

The letters to the 'Age' were reprinted in Auckland in pamphlet form under the title of 'Holy Tonga,' and a thousand copies now lay upon the floor of the Premier's

office. Since Mr Baker shared with Mr Watkin the 652
honour of The Vagabond's eulogy, the Free Church had 645
with unanswerable logic been debited with half the
"honorarium"; but the remaining £62. 15s. was a dead
loss to the Government. The fate of the pamphlet was 652
decided from the moment when a kind friend translated 645
to Tungi the following passage: "Tungi wipes his greasy 114
fingers on his fat thighs, and then looks up at us with a
query in his wicked black eyes. . . . He is very obese,
the fat swelling into wrinkles on his wrists and legs like
those of a prize baby. He looks sensual and wicked, and
strikes us as the very model of a black Tiberius."

But the late Premier, probably uneasy as to the view that might be formed regarding his share in the transaction, authorised his son to buy the pamphlet at the price it had cost the Treasury. The offer was tempting in view of the emptiness of the Exchequer, but I could not close with it until the consent of my colleagues had been obtained. The proposal was laid before the Cabinet. Kubu and Tukuaho were against making terms with Mr Baker of any kind; Sateki thought that the money should not be refused; the Chief-Justice did not catch the proposal, and Goschen's thoughts were elsewhere. Then Tungi rose. He had heard, he said, that the book was libellous, and spoke evil of dignities. He thought he remembered seeing the white man who wrote it: he was a man of disreputable appearance (*matamata tu'a*), and he looked as if he drank much strong kava. If the book were sold Mr Baker would distribute it abroad, and Tonga would have an evil smell. 'Holy Tonga' was brought to judgment and condemned to suffer at the stake, like many a

652 better book before it. But the time of execution was put
645 off from day to day, and I strongly suspect that the thou-
114 sand copies still lie piled away forgotten in the Premier's
back-office.

652 There were no offers to buy back the other extrava-
645 gances of the late Premier, though the inventory showed
a tempting variety. There was a passenger car to run on
[496] the tram-line from the wharf to the banana plantation; a
[403] safe that cost £150, so large as to be unsaleable even in Auckland; a book of New Zealand birds costing £11, 11s., bought in order that Mr Baker's name might figure on the title-page as joint patron with the Queen and other personages; an electric-light installation of an antiquated and useless pattern; a full outfit of electrical toys, induction coils, miniature pumps, tiny lights, dancing-dolls, &c.; and a quantity of *quasi*-scientific apparatus stored in the *Fale Saicnisi* (Science House) at the College; besides a vast quantity of stores of all kinds dissipated among the natives.

451 We had now to devise some system of book-keeping for
652 the revenue clerks, simplified to suit that peculiar mathematical talent that can solve a problem in higher algebra without being able to add up a column of figures correctly, yet sufficiently elaborate to admit of an accurate statement of revenue from any source at a given time, and of a check being kept upon dishonest officials.

We abolished at one sweep the old books with their complicated headings, and substituted common cash-books
451 for them. The revenue collectors gave printed receipts
652 for every payment made to them, retaining a duplicate to
651 show to the officer who audited their books. Once a-week

dawn till dusk all over the island, with a bat if they 526
could get it, but otherwise with a cocoa-nut branch and
an unripe orange. They played matches, one village 526
against another, and all the men of each village took 628
an innings. With perhaps seventy-three on one side and
fifty-two on the other a match lasted for days; and party
feeling sometimes ran so high that at the end the losers
fell upon the victors with the bats and stumps to avenge
their disgrace. This was all changed when cricket was
regulated by law, and confined to Tuesdays and Thursdays
only; besides, the heat of the cricket-passion has had
time to cool. But I record the matter if only to serve
the speakers at cricket-dinners with a useful illustration.

The two principal papers in Auckland were bespatter- 114
ing us with satirical abuse. This was not unexpected, for 177
we had been warned that Mr Baker was a shareholder in
one of them. It is good for a Government to be reviled by
the press—it produces a healthy glow of reaction, like a
shower-bath on a cold morning; but we owed money in
Auckland, and were dependent upon our credit for our sup-
plies. I had a weapon to brandish over the head of one of 114
these organs: the Government printing was done in its office, 177
but I could scarcely insist on its closing its columns to 659
hostile criticisms without providing it with a correspon-
dent free from prejudice. I knew of no one in Tonga at
the time who could be trusted to write without bias
against the new Administration except myself. I there-
fore had a message conveyed to the proprietors of the
'Herald' that we could not continue to give our printing
to a hostile journal, and that if they wanted our custom
they must amend their tone. If their "own correspon-

114 dent" was past reform, I promised to provide them with a
177 monthly letter. To the 'Star' I wrote that we were think-
659 ing of dividing our printing if we could find a friendly firm to undertake a portion of it, but that the inimical tone of their paper had hitherto prevented us from doing so. If, however, they would adopt an impartial attitude, I should be glad to meet them half-way by supplying regular news. Thenceforth I became "Our own Correspondent" to both papers, and wrote by each mail two separate letters, alike only in their colourless stolidity, in which neither favour nor ill-will to the Government of Tonga shocked the eye, and the printing was divided. This arrangement was not made too soon, for the wordy effusions of the disappointed schoolmaster, had they appeared in print, would have created a panic among our creditors.

795 The impartiality of the Government in sectarian dis-
798 putes had had the effect of allaying to some extent the bitter feeling between the rival Churches. But the Wesleyans still suffered disabilities, and were far from satisfied. The *abi*, or plantations of the ministers, confiscated during the disturbances, had not yet been given back to them, and indeed could not be restored without injustice to the present occupants, who were given possession in good faith by the late Government. The Free Church ministers still had possession of a quantity of timber, some windows, and a church bell, bought with the mission funds, and refused to give them up, on the ground that they were paid for with the subscriptions of the Wesleyans who have since turned to the Free Church. No doubt the property was vested in the trustees of the Wesleyan Church, but I urged forbearance, for every day of harmony was a gain

794 his interests the hearts of all the patrons and their
796 friends. After the benediction had been pronounced,
[563] the congregation walked thoughtfully home to cool down
and face the future.

It is easy to sneer at the missionaries in the South
797 Pacific as drones sucking the honey that others have
stored; as ministers of the collection-plate rather than
of the Gospel; as moral teachers whose grim code is re-
797 sponsible for the deterioration of native morality. The
177 books written about the Pacific Islands have been the
[114] work of either missionaries or passing travellers, and
hostile criticism by the latter has been in obedience to
the natural law of reaction after the sometimes nauseous
series of self-laudatory books given to the world by the
missionaries themselves. Casual travellers, who hoped to
see the natives in their primitive simplicity of manners,
are disappointed to find them clad and in their right
minds, and galled at the restrictions, apparently arbi-
trary and unreasonable, laid upon them by their spirit-
ual guides. They have read much of the hardships of the
missionary's life. They find him sleek and prosperous, the
autocrat of his flock, living in a good house, travelling
in a comfortable and well-found boat: they feel that an
attempt has been made to obtain their sympathies under
false pretences, and they write down mission enterprise
a fraud, and the system a mere institution for raising
[563] money from the gullible native. In this extreme view
they are supported by the Europeans of the place,—for
[441] traders do not love missionaries, regarding them as com-
petitors who, besides crippling trade, interfere with their
domestic arrangements.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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POSTSCRIPT.

MANY things happen in three years. My narrative should 114
properly have ended where I have left it; but, since circumstances
have combined to defer its publication, I cannot pass
over all that has happened since 1891. I left Tonga clear 643
of her embarrassments, with a strong popular Government, and 645
every promise of prosperity. In 1894 she is divided in her
councils, suspicious of her rulers, and financially unsound.
Her destiny depended upon the wisdom of the king's advisers.
It was too much to hope that, without any European assistance,
a native Government could steer clear of difficulties;
but I hoped, at least, that the lessons of economy they had
learnt so painfully would ensure the native Cabinet against
living beyond their means. When I left, Mr Moss was appointed
clerk to the Premier, and for a time all went well. In [652]
December 1891 there was a balance of £8000 in the treasury,
after all debts had been discharged. Then came a series of
disasters. Mr Moss died, and there was keen competition for
his vacant place. While they were still wrangling and intriguing, 643
the king was taken suddenly ill, and after only four
days' illness he died on February 18, 1893. He had alarmed
them so often with his sudden seizures that the blow came
upon the people almost unprepared. They had come to look
upon their king of ninety-six as immortal. Even the oldest of
them could not remember a time when George Tubou was not
a central figure in the country. All work came to an end. [461]
The cocoa-nuts lay unhusked upon the ground for months:

large cave full of water of unknown depth. It 312
was this discovery that led to the choice of [712]
Feletoa as the site for the fortress that was to
contain the entire population of the island. We
explored the cave, and found that the water
was clear, but slightly brackish. Probably it
rises and falls with the tide, and the whole
island, like Niué, contains similar reservoirs of
fresh water beneath its crust. Mariner says that 712
Finau had the ramparts levelled with the ground, [727]
but, to judge by the works still remaining, his
commands must have been but grudgingly
obeyed, for it would not take much to put the
place into a state of defence again.

Surveying the fort, even in its dismantled and
overgrown condition, we could well believe that
it had a most imposing appearance. The land- [133]
locked inlet, with its vista of hazy islands to
seaward and its brilliant reflections, broken here
and there by light puffs of wind, must have been
a fit setting for the lofty triple rampart alive
with warriors in their war-harness. Of their [114]
Homeric deeds in the great siege you may read
in the pages of Dr. Martin, who, if he wrote
no epic, contrived at least to lose nothing of the
romance in William Mariner's story.

II.—INDIVIDUAL GODS.

776 Bulotu Katoa. Bulotu was the Tongan Paradise. As already
related its chief deity was Hikuleo, but it was the home also of spirits
[772] of the departed, evidently only of chiefs and great people, to whom
[775] perhaps some sort of worship was paid. Sometimes one hears of a
being called Tui Bulotu, i.e., King of Bulotu, but of him I have been
[114] able to learn nothing. Mariner calls him a minor god of the sea and
of voyages, and protector of Finau's family. Tuivakano, the Premier
of Tonga, suggests that some of the gods mentioned by Mariner are
[775] really the illustrious dead. In spite of the name Tui Bulotu there
does not seem any reason to disturb the sovereignty of Hikuleo in
Bulotu, home of wondrous plenty, of the life-giving water, Vai-Ola,
Water of Life, into which the spirits of the dead seem to have been
dipped to restore them to life and the power of enjoying the delights
of their paradise, and of other marvels.

Bulotu Katoa, i.e., the whole of Bulotu, was the grandiloquent
name of a great deity whose principal shrine was at Boha, in the
[361] eastern part of Tongatabu. This eastern district, though not now the
seat of the capital, is the chiefly centre of the ancient polity, the
residence of the Tui Tonga, the Tui Haatakalaua, and other great
776 lords. To Bulotu Katoa the whole of Tonga resorted, the Tui Tonga
alone staying at home. I have heard him spoken of as the god of the
643 great warrior chiefs, the Tui Kanokupolu, who in process of time and
[782] change supervening on the coming of the European have displaced
the Tui Tonga, but the real position seems rather to have been that
whoever for the time being was most powerful, whether the Tui
Kanokupolu or another chief, took the lead in national supplication to
this great god, to avert the calamities of hurricane, drought, and
776 famine. As a matter of fact Kuku, a very ancient and blue-blooded
chief, was most intimately associated with the worship of Bulotu
[565 Katoa, and two related chiefs, Tamale (the present holder of this title
[115] has given me the best information about this and many other matters;
his repute as a depository of ancient lore is probably more widely
recognised than that of any living Tongan), and Ma'olo distributed
[792 the offerings brought to the god. The name of the priest was
Takahi. When *kava* was presented to Bulotu Katoa the Tui
276 Kanokupolu sat with the ring of outsiders at a distance from the *kava*
574 bowl and the leaders of the ceremony.

643 The dog was the sacred animal of this god, and during his worship
782] a dog lay at the side of the priest. It was customary to use the word
kuli (dog) in names of Nuku's family. There is a proverbial ex-
776 pression pretty closely parallel to our English "Let sleeping dogs lie,"
which is said to have had its first application to the dog of Bulotu
825 Katoa.
[192]

There is a tradition that an early Tui Tofua was about to kill his 773
son in a fit of jealous anger, but the youth obtained his father's 825
permission to sail away with some of his people. When they got well
out to sea he told the crew to jump one by one into the water. As each
man leapt into the sea he became a shark, of the more harmless variety
called *anga*. The young chief himself was last, and he was turned into
one of the great man-eating sharks called *tenifa*. A Samoan on board.
not relishing the metamorphosis, refused to participate, and returned
and told the tale on shore. Since then the shark has been sacred (*tabu*) 784
to the Tofua people, and must not be eaten by them, on account of the 262
relationship subsisting between them. There is still extant a song 533
referring to this exploit.

I have received a brief note regarding the gods of Nina Fo'ou, one 183
of the most distant islands of the Tongan Group, lying midway
between Vavau and Samoa. This is a hilly, volcanic island, with a
lake in an old crator in the middle. It has been the scene of volcanic
outbreak within very recent years.

The note states that the gods of Nina Fo'ou were three in number, 776
namely Pig's Liver, the Octopus, and a large lump of Coral (*Bunga*).
Neither the pig's liver nor the octopus could be eaten by their 262
worshippers. Throughout Tonga the liver is a very special portion of 784
the pig, and when on important occasions cooked food is presented to
a chief the liver of a pig is taken and ceremoniously placed before him. 565
Bunga (Coral) is the name of the chief of eastern Tongatabu from 773
whom Motuku-vae-valu, the father of Muni, was hiding when his son
discovered him. Bunga was overcome by that hero in a wrestling
match. This Bunga was the possessor of two enormous *kava* plants,
and of a white flying-fox from whose movements he read auguries.

When Nina Fo'ou became Christian the people threw their coral 798
god into the lake.

There are several gods mentioned by Mariner of which I have not 114
been able to get any independent account. Mariner was best
acquainted with Vavau, whereas the foregoing notes deal mainly with 776
Tongatabu. As a whole, however, the Tongan people fit into a framework 101
which may be constructed in Tongatabu. The chieftainships of
the two northern groups have well understood relations with Tongatabu, 565
all deriving ultimately from the Tui Tonga. It is not clear what 634
was the first home of the Polynesians in the group, or what they found 643
on arrival. Tradition points to their having come from Samoa, a
conclusion which is supported by the general evidence of geographical 174
distribution, and to their first settlements having been in the southern
part, though the farthest from Samoa, in Eua and Ata. It is not
impossible, that these southern settlers may have been pre-Polynesian,
and that the acclimatisation of Polynesian myths amongst them was

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

644 (Lakemba in Fiji). Of this marriage sprang the Tama-ha (Sacred Child), children of the Tui Tonga Fefine, the summit 175 of Tongan society. After Tapuoji the scions of two [565] houses connected with him, the Tui Lakepa, and the Tui Haa-Teiho, were the husbands of the female Tui Tongas, [784] and their families the Tama-ha. Although the connection of the Tui Lakepa and the Tui Haa-Teiho, with Fiji soon be[609]came remote, yet the infusion of foreign blood gave them foreignness sufficient to release them from a tabu that would be binding on every pure-blooded Tongan man.[20]

THE TUI KANO-KUPOLU.

643 About the year 1650 Mounga-Tonga, the Tui Haa-Takalaua, made his son Ngata the chief of western Tongatabu, 173 with the title of Tui Kano-kupolu. Ngata was the son of a Samoan lady, Tohuia, the daughter of Ama of Safata. There is a little village in western Tongatabu called Kanokupolu, but the significance of the title is out of all proportion to the importance of its meaning of king of this hamlet. Tohuia, perhaps, brought great prestige with her. It is only in recent years that the express recognition of the connection of the Tui Kano-kupolu with the Tui Manu'a in Samoa has been discontinued. Kupolu is of course identical in form with Upolu, the second largest island of Samoa.

The successful inauguration of the Ngata line, with its great head, the Tui Kano-kupolu, probably signalised the bringing of western Tongatabu into more satisfactory political relations with the lords of eastern Tongatabu, the Tui Tonga, and the Tui Haa-Takalaua. The present Ata, the principal chief of the Haa Ngata, Tribe of Ngata, has told me that chiefs were sent before Ngata to Hihifo (the west), but were slain. Ngata made good his lordship over the westerners. Originally a delegate of the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa-Takalaua, the Tui Kano-kupolu has ended by acquiring the recognised sovereignty of the whole group.

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[114] [20] For the migration of the Tui Lakepa to Tonga see A. M. Hocart, Early Fijians pp. 44-46 (J.R.A.I. Vol. XLIX Jan. to June, 1919). The linguistic argument on p. 46 is, perhaps, too sweeping. There are traces of the article *le* in Tongan, and it is in use in Niua Fo'ou, where also is found an exclamation *pohopoho*, which recalls the Lauan *polopolo*. The case of Niua Fo'ou, however, does not affect Mr. Hocart's argument, but suggests its close linguistic, and ethnic, affinity with Lau.

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New Zealand Geographer

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MODERN TONGA[1]

C. G. F. SIMKIN

THE KINGDOM OF TONGA is a small and unimportant corner of the Pacific. It has barely enough people for a medium sized town, not nearly enough land for an average New Zealand county, and no physical resources apart from a soil and climate favourable to sub-tropical agriculture. Commercially it is of slight consequence, even to its immediate neighbours; politically it relies upon Britain for its actual independence. 101 [648]

But if Tonga is negligible as a nation, its social arrangements deserve notice as being both interesting in themselves and suggestive for colonial reform: for the Tongans are the only Pacific people to retain real self-government, and they have used it to develop a society which is both reasonably adjusted to the modern world and satisfactorily adapted to their own needs. This means that they have solved one of the basic problems confronting colonial policy. On the political side the solution has taken the form of an independent Kingdom, protected by a Great Power, but effectively controlled by its own traditional leaders, who have already made it into a modern state, and are now developing it into a constitutional democracy. On the economic side it rests upon a land system which excludes plantations and proletariat and gives every man a farm of his own. This simple but admirable institution prevents unemployment, promotes economic equality and independence, cushions the country against slumps, and together with 182 642 [648] 182 [423]

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[1] This statement is the outcome of a few months' military service in Tonga during which spare time was spent collecting information about its people and institutions, mainly from official papers, from interviews with heads of departments, and from discussions with Tongan and European residents. Acknowledgement is gratefully made of the debt due to all who gave so freely of their own ample knowledge of the Kingdom, more particularly to the patient and very helpful assistance of Mr. Nicholson, the Treasurer, Mr. Brownlees, the Secretary to the Government, Mr. Cottrell-Dormer, the Director of Agriculture, the Rev. Mr. Gribble, the Acting-Director of Education, Dr. Brown, the Chief Medical Officer, and the Rev. Mr. Page, Dean of the Tongan Missions. [114] [127] [124]

[p. 99]

114
123

[For details of the daily routine activities of the author acting in the role as missionary among the Tongan people, see Category 797.]

CHAPTER IV.

Mistakes in the geographical distribution of the Friendly Islands—Extent of Polynesia Proper—Polarity of many of the groups—New Zealand probably peopled from Tonga—Tongatabu and its adjacent Islands—Haabai, or the Central Islands—Intermediate Islands of Huga—Late—Haafuluhao, or the Varau Islands—Islands still further North—Native Tradition respecting Wallis's Island, or Uvea—The Friendly Islands a type of Polynesia in general—Varied developments of structure—Volcanic Origin of the Islands—Extensive volcanic agency in activity—Destruction of Fonua Lei in 1846—Captain Samson's account of a cloud of dust and ashes—Personal visit to Fonua Lei in 1848—Eruption in Niua Foöu in 1853—Destruction of Native Village and Chapel—Remarkable Incidents—State of the volcano in 1854—Native Letter—Sermon on the supposed site of the destroyed village—New volcano in Late—Volcano in Tofua—Formation of two new volcanic Islands in 1857—Upheaving of reefs—General conclusions—Classification of reefs—Dangerous reef-waves—Openings in reefs accounted for—Explanation of absence of Barrier Reefs in many volcanic Islands. 000

It seems necessary, for the sake of clearness in our narrative, that we should now give a general outline of the geographical distribution of the Friendly Islands, considered as an entire insular system, and of some of their more prominent natural characteristics. More minute detail and description, where necessary, will be given, in our own personal reminiscences of residence, in the several distinct groups comprehended within the limits of Tonguese dominion. 121

The absence of correct information on these points has occasioned many gross mistakes, in the works of writers on Polynesian subjects; and has also led to serious errors in those maps and charts upon which the safety of navigators, in such unknown and dangerous regions, entirely depends. For example: it is stated by Dr. Russell, in his 121 114 114

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114 very valuable and interesting work on Polynesia, that "the Tonga, the Fiji, and the Navigator Islands, are so closely associated, in regard to position, and physical character, that it seems impossible to assign any other reason why they should not all be considered as one group, than that they have been variously named by successive visitors." * Now, it will be found that, in the construction of many maps and charts, this opinion has evidently been followed, because the whole of these groups are covered, in many of them, by one general designation. Whereas, by geographical distribution, difference of language, and by various [101] ethnological distinctions, they are as truly separate nationalities, as are the inhabitants of the Grecian archipelago, when compared with those of Orkney or Shetland.

121 *Oceania* is now regarded, by geographers, as forming a fifth division of the globe. It includes the large islands, and extensive archipelagoes, in the Pacific, between the south-eastern shores of Asia and the western coast of America. This insular region is separated from Asia, by the Gulf of Martaban, the Strait of Malacca, the Chinese Sea, and the sea to the south and east of Japan; and from America, by the wide expanse of ocean, which is free of islands, between the western shores of that continent, and the most easterly parts of Polynesia. This island-world extends over about 6,200 miles of north and south latitude, and nearly 11,000 miles of east and west longitude. The land area has been computed at about 4,500,000 square

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[113] * "Polynesia: or an Historical Account of the Principal Islands in the South Sea, including New Zealand," by the Right Rev. M. Russell, LL.D., p. 241.

anchorages for ships are generally *outside* the shore 133
reefs, but they are well protected by other and [504]
isolated reefs beyond. The shore reefs in the Friendly group very seldom exceed a distance of two hundred yards from the land, and these instances are rare. The average distance will be about fifty yards; but in many instances much less.

Another statement, made by Mr. Ellis, in reference to the reefs which came under his notice, will 133
not apply to those of Tonga, and of other parts of 114
the Pacific. He states that "in each of the islands, and opposite the large valleys, through which a stream of water falls into the ocean, there is usually a break or opening in the line of reef that surrounds the shore,—a most wise and benevolent provision for the ingress and egress of vessels, as well as a singular phenomenon in the natural history of these marine ramparts. Whether the current of fresh water constantly flowing from the rivers to the ocean, prevents the tiny architects from building their concentric walls in one continued line, or whether in the fresh water itself there is any quality inimical to the growth or increase of coral, is not easy to determine; but it is a remarkable fact, that few openings occur in the reefs which surround the South Sea Islands, excepting opposite those parts of the shore from which streams of fresh water flow into the sea."

Now, in none of the Tonga islands are there any streams of water flowing into the sea; and yet, various openings in the reefs to the ocean exist. This is also the case in other parts of the Pacific: and, indeed, there are few of the low-lying islands that can boast of even the smallest rivulet of fresh water. We must, therefore, seek for some

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[114]

other explanation of the existence of these deep-sea channels. To our own mind the simple, and most natural, explanation would be, that, wherever a weak part in the barrier reef has presented itself, there the sea has made an inroad, breaking down its wall, and gradually deepening the course it has so formed. It no doubt does so occur, under Providence, that some of these gaps face those indentations of the shore from whence flowing streams debouch into the sea; but as there are so many exceptional cases, no satisfactory argument can be based upon that circumstance. Indeed, it is well known that similar openings occur in reefs which do not surround any land at all.

It is also remarkable that in many of the more elevated volcanic islands, no barrier reef exists. Such is the case at least in the Friendly group. The question therefore naturally arises, Why should these reefs be found encircling the low islands, while they are not found also in the vicinity of the others? The simple answer would seem to be, that Divine Providence has so ordered it, that the lower islands, which require protection, should have it; but that where the height and greater solidity of others rendered such protection needless, there it should not be bestowed. But, granting that the arrangement must be resolved into the Divine will of the Creator, is there not some secondary and natural explanation of the fact, which may equally exhibit the wisdom and the power of God? We believe there is.

To us, the idea seems untenable that the polypes, by an instinctive intuition, shun the sturdy volcanic islands, while they hug the shores of the more tiny and exposed ones, that they may rear walls of quarter to which the eye may be turned, the land 245 appears clad with their graceful foliage, down even to within a few feet of the sea itself. Proximity to the ocean, and a sandy soil, appear rather to favour than to hinder the rapid and healthy growth of the tree. Some of the finest and tallest specimens are met with on the shores of the lowest islands. In such situations they attain an elevation of eighty and even ninety feet. Hence an approaching voyager discovers the tufted heads of these palms in the distance, long before the land itself, upon which they grow, becomes visible.

The natives reckon at least nine different kinds of cocoa-nut trees, for all of which they have distinctive names, such as, the *niu-kafa*, *niu-ui*, *niu-leka*, &c. All these are known and included under [114] the generic name of *Niu*; so that Dr. Seemann appears to be in error when he says, that "the Fijians are the only people who in their barbarous state had a collective term for the great natural order of palms."[*]

In addition to the multifarious uses to which 439 every portion of this tree has been devoted, from 434 time immemorial,[†] the natives now derive from it [824] a large revenue of wealth, by the manufacture and exportation of cocoa-nut oil. Nothing of this kind 439 was done, of any importance, before the year 1846. 434 At that time the Missionaries adopted various measures 797 calculated to encourage the manufacture of the article, and to facilitate its sale to resident foreign traders. They also explained the duty incumbent upon professed converts to the Christian faith, and especially upon all members of the church,

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[*] Dr. Seemann's "Viti," p. 367.

[†] Ellis's "Polynesia Researches," vol. i., pp. 50-59.

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timber is obtained. The *toa*, or iron-wood tree, 313
(*Casuarina equisetifolia,*) is somewhat abundant, [137]
but it is not much used by the natives, because
of its excessive hardness and heaviness. Clubs [411)
and spears were made from it in former times.
The large posts required for buildings are obtained [342)
from the *koka*, whose timber is very durable in
the ground. It likewise affords the best firewood;
and a dark liquid which exudes from its trunk, [314]
when the bark has been scraped off, is employed in [386)
stamping patterns upon the native cloth.

Some of the most stately and magnificent trees
are only fit for firewood, and some not even for
that. Among these may be reckoned the *orava*, [137)
a species of banyan; the *buko*, (belonging to the
natural order of *Bombaceæ*,) and the *gatae*,
(*Erythrina corallodendron.*) This latter tree is [245)
very commonly planted to distinguish the boundaries (423)
of land belonging to different proprietors.

Having considered, so far, the natural productions 128
of the islands, as a whole, we shall now resume 114
our personal narrative, by taking the reader to
Vavau, where the first years of our residence were
spent.

CHAPTER VII.

THE harbour of Vavau, or Port Refuge—Suitability for a Naval Rendezvous—The first steam-ship across the Pacific—Rise of Christianity in Vavau—Finau Ulukalala—A sailor's letter for a Missionary—Finau persecutes the Christians—The first disciples—Their flight and conduct in Haabai—Taufa-ahau visits Vavau—Ulukalala's conversion—Burning of heathen temples and idols—Wrath of the heathen—Attempted war—A bloodless victory—Death of Ulukalala—Accession of King George—A great religious awakening—Attempt by the Romish Priests—The first code of laws—State of Vavau in 1846—Another great religious movement—Permanent results.

504 THE harbour of Vavau has been long known to the
133 English Admiralty by the name of Port Refuge. The
[103] soundings given in the accompanying chart, are what
were taken by Captain Bethune, of the Royal Navy,
133 when in command of the "Conway" in 1838; but
114 the sketch of the harbour then made was inaccurate
504 in several particulars. These errors have been corrected in the present chart; but the scale of its projection would not admit a view of the coast and islands, to the eastward. As, however, that side of the group is rendered utterly unapproachable by ships, in consequence of extensive reefs, the omission is of the less moment.

504 There are two entrances to the harbour, both of
which are perfectly free from dangers. The widest
487 is that to the north-west. The other lies to the
133 south-west, between the islands of Huga and Niuababu. That channel is only about three-quarters of a mile wide, but it is deep, and entirely free from obstructions. We entered, in the "Triton," by that from the north-west. Passing between two

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133 Near the north-western extremity of this island there is a natural cavern, the only entrance to which is considerably under water, even at the lowest ebb of the tide. I believe this cave to be
133 the same of which the late Mr. Marriner speaks in
114 his "Tonga Islands," and which he states is situated on the western coast of Huga. The mistake, as to the locality, might easily be made through a lapse of memory, and owing to the proximity of these two islands to each other. At all
[173] events, a traditionary history of the hidden cave at Niuababu is given, which corresponds substantially with the account of that said to be at Huga.

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133 A certain chief, having become obnoxious to the King of Vavau, was condemned to be taken out to sea and drowned, while his family and immediate relatives were ordered to be massacred. A young chief, who had long loved the daughter of the condemned man, hearing of the king's purpose, hit upon a very singular scheme by which he at once saved the life of his beloved, and secured her for his bride. While pursuing his avocation of fishing, he one day came suddenly upon a turtle sleeping on the surface of the sea, close under the cliffs of Niuababu. Alarmed by the approach of the canoe, the turtle darted under water; but the young chief, determined on its capture, dived also, and, following hard after the creature, was led into the submarine entrance through which the turtle darted into a large cavern above, where the brave pursuer managed to secure his prize. Although much astonished by the discovery, he kept the affair a profound secret. But now that the object of his long-cherished affection was in danger, he thought

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[Uvea]

000 ants, until the time of our own visit thither, and for many dreary months of suffering after that.

Having thus glanced at the main facts connected with the rise and progress of religion in the two Niuas and in Uvea, we now proceed with the details of our own voyage thither; upon which occasion I was accompanied by my esteemed friend and colleague, the Rev. Walter J. Davis.

797 We sailed from Vavau on Monday, June 6th, 1848. Passing in the immediate vicinity of the ruined and still burning island of Fonua Lei about three P.M., we stood on, and reached Niua Tobutabu on the following day, about eleven A.M. The 133 island is about six miles long, and two broad. There are several tolerably high hills in the centre, but otherwise the land is low. The population [162] consists of about six hundred or seven hundred people. Toward its western extremity, the island is divided by an inlet of the sea; and there is, in that direction also, an immense sandy flat, stretching away toward another lofty conical island, called Tafahi, which lies about seven miles distant from Niua Tobutabu. Tafahi is certainly an extinct volcano, and it attains an altitude sufficiently high to make it plainly visible from a distance of fifty 131 miles. Niua Tobutabu is the Kebble's Island of English charts; and Tafahi is, probably, that 114 known as Boscawen's Island. The latter name has been sometimes assigned, in the charts, to Niua Foöu, which is evidently a mistake; for its relative position will not correspond at all with that describing Boscawen's Island. Considerable difficulty is felt in identifying this island, as well as many others in the Pacific Ocean, whose position has not been properly defined, owing to their remoteness

[Niua Tobutabu]

from the usual tracks of navigation. The charts are often at fault, both as to the locality and names of many islands. 131 114

The day being fine, we experienced very little difficulty in landing. We were met by the chief teacher, and a number of the people, with whom we set off across the sands. The walk was rather fatiguing; but we arrived safely at the town, and were immediately conducted to Maatu, styled Tui-Niua, or King of Niua. The remarkably narrow limits of his dominions evidently never troubled his mind, or distressed those of his subjects. The humblest of the company present moved along with a natural dignity and grace, that any courtier or monarch might have envied. We have already had occasion also to show that, although few in number, and a "feeble folk" in many respects, yet these Niuans were not wanting in stirring enterprise or true courage. 797 [634)

Even before we reached the town, the great wooden drums had been sounding, to give notice of our arrival, and to summon the entire population from their daily occupations, in preparation for the various religious services about to be held. There being no safe anchorage off the island, the visits of the Missionaries are necessarily very brief; while such a multiplicity of onerous duties devolve upon the visitors, that the greatest expedition must be observed, and they can scarcely find time either to eat or sleep. [202] [534)

Let us look for a moment at the work to be done. No visit from a Missionary had been received by Niua Tobutabu for several years. The attempt had been made in the previous year, but failed through the violence of the sea and wind. The doings therefore of the teachers over a considerable period of time had to be reviewed. The lists of church members

174 language would, in the first instance, move eastward, along the chain of islands, lying between the
10° and 15° of south latitude, over 50° of longitude,
and, eventually, to distant localities more difficult
of access."*

Considering the geographical position of Tonga-
[173] tabu and its contiguous dependencies; the un-
[161] doubted natural superiority of the inhabitants over
those of surrounding groups; the prestige which
[203] the Tonguese name carries with it wherever it is
known in the Pacific; and, finally, the fact that
their traditions speak of a time when the population on the main island was so dense, that a sort of
telegraphic mouth-to-mouth communication carried
tidings between the most distant points in an incredibly short time, we might almost be inclined to
sustain Mr. Crawfurd's opinion that in these islands
the primitive germ of the Polynesian race was
located. Nothing, however, can be advanced with
certainty. That the population of these islands
[161] was at one time much greater than it is now, we
[114] have no doubt; but we think that there are no
evidences to show that it was so great as the tradition intimates. Some also of the Tonguese songs
and traditions indicate that Samoa has been the
source from whence several of the chieftain families
have sprung, and from whence also the names of
several of the most important localities in Tonga
have been derived. This, however, should not be
allowed to prove too much. I am, indeed, inclined
to think that Samoa is much more likely to have
been peopled from Tonga, and that its subsequent

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[113] * Preliminary Dissertation to "A Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language," by John Crawfurd, F.R.S., London, 1852, p. 253.

643 sea-shore presents quite a lively scene. Here some
484 are sail-making, others spinning ropes, others plait-
[293] ing *kafa*, or the cocoa fibre sinnet, and others again
[396] are employed in scouring or repairing the hulls of
the various large sea-going canoes.

January 31st.—The Haabai portion of the king's Fijian fleet sailed for Tonga to-day. They have been waiting impatiently for several days for those that are coming from Vavau. The departure of so many large *kalias* was an imposing sight. Many tears, however, were shed by the friends of those who have gone; it being very probable that numbers of these voyagers will never return.

797 The subject of this expedition to Fiji, and of
648 its results, requires a more extended and consecutive view of it than our journal would afford. It was the last event of moment that occurred during our remaining residence in the Friendly Islands; but inasmuch as the scene of Tonguese movements lay in Fiji, we must be pardoned for entering into certain details that have already appeared substantially in another work.* We also feel this to be
● [114] very necessary, because in a still more recent publication of considerable note, some of the facts connected with the history have been misrepresented and distorted, to the manifest prejudice of the Tonguese people, and more particularly to the injury of King George.

648 In a work we have already named in former
643 pages it is said, "that King George, the present
69 ruler of Tonga, having subdued a rebellion in which
114 Maafu, a leading Tonguese chief in Fiji, took part,

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* "Fiji and the Fijians," vol. ii., pp. 189-196. London: Heylin. 1858.

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deemed it prudent to send Maafu to Fiji, ostensibly 648
for the purpose of keeping his countrymen in order, 643
but really to get him out of the way. At the same 669
time a hint, and perhaps more than a hint, was 114
thrown out, that no objections would be made if Maafu did in Fiji what King George had done in Tonga, make himself master of the whole group."*

Passing by the insinuation here advanced, that King George has *usurped* authority in the Friendly Islands, which we think has been sufficiently disproved in previous pages, we have only further to observe that the "Maafu" in Fiji, and the "Maafu" concerned in the rebellion against King George in Bea, whom Dr. Seemann declares to be the same man, are, in truth, totally different men. A comparison of dates, on Dr. Seemann's own showing, would have prevented him falling into the egregious error he has made in confounding together two distinct men. He states that Maafu arrived in Fiji in 1848,† whereas the rebellion in Tonga, for which he avers that Maafu was expatriated to Fiji by King George, did not take place until 1852. No doubt the author has been misled by the information which he received in Fiji, from persons who bore no great love to the enterprising Tonguese, whose presence there materially interfered with the designs, and prospects, of those who desired the acceptance of the Fiji Islands by the English Government, as an appanage of the British Crown. Dr. Seemann has a perfect liberty to entertain any opinion he chooses of either Maafu or King George, but every writer should be exceedingly careful of his facts.

Again, it is declared in the same work, that, "in 643
March, 1855, King George, of Tonga, availed him- 648

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* Dr. Seemann's "Mission to Fiji," p. 242. † *Ibid.*, p. 241. 114

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643 648 114 self of the opportunity presented by the Missionary vessel, 'John Wesley,' to pay a visit of state to Cakobau, the Supreme Chief of Bau, and titular King of Fiji. Cakobau was at that particular time in considerable trouble. Kaba, an important place in the neighbourhood of his capital, was in open rebellion against him, headed by Ratu Mara; and as he had but recently lost much of his influence by renouncing heathenism, he felt himself scarcely strong enough to put down Kaba single-handed. In an evil hour he was persuaded to apply to King George for assistance; and the latter readily complied, on being presented with a canoe fifteen fathoms long for the promised assistance."* Dr. Seemann adds, that, "when King George visited Fiji, it was in the 'John Wesley;' and it was on board of that vessel the arrangement relative to the subjugation of Kaba was concluded."†

Now, in answer to these statements, we have to assert:—1. That King George did *not* visit Fiji in the Mission vessel "John Wesley" in March, 1855. The only occasion on which he visited Fiji in that vessel was in November, 1853, at which time Ratu Mara was not at the head of the rebellion in Kaba, against Thakombau; and, therefore, it cannot be true that any arrangement was concluded for the subjugation of Kaba on board the "John Wesley," between King George and Thakombau, as stated in Dr. Seemann's work. 2. King George did not receive a present of a canoe for his promised assistance in 1855. But, in November, 1853, when as a simple passing passenger to Sydney, in the "John Wesley," he paid an informal and casual visit to Thakombau, the latter did give him the present of

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* Dr. Seemann's "Mission to Fiji," p. 244.

† *Ibid.*, p. 254.

a large canoe; and King George then promised to 643
visit Fiji at some convenient time after his return 648
from Australia, for the purpose of removing the 114
canoe to the Friendly Islands. 3. When King George visited Thakombau in the "John Wesley," in 1853, that chief was still a heathen, which is proved by the fact that King George wrote a letter to Thakombau, some time after his return to Tonga from Australia, imploring him to become a Christian.* That letter, in fact, decided Thakombau to become a Christian on April 30th, 1854; and it was not till March, 1855, that King George sailed from Tonga with his own fleet of canoes to fulfil his promised visit to the Fijian chief. We totally deny that the king went on account of any previous promise or arrangement, to render assistance to Thakombau in his wars. But, it may be said, if King George's mission to Fiji were a peaceful one, why did he go there with more than thirty large canoes?

Intelligence having been carried to Fiji that the 797
king intended going there with a large retinue, I 648
received a communication from the Rev. James 643
Calvert, requesting me to wait upon the king, and persuade him, if possible, to reduce the number of his fleet to eight or ten canoes, lest any alarm might be created, in the then distracted state of Fijian parties. With this communication I waited upon the king. During the course of conversation he distinctly declared that his intended visit was solely one of friendship and peace. He expressed also the pleasure it would have given him to go with a fewer number of canoes and people; "but," he said, "we know what Fiji is. I feel bound to make good my

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* "Fiji and the Fijians," vol. ii., p. 334.

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SUPPLEMENTARY TONGAN VOCABULARY.

BY E. E. V. COLLOCOTT.

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[The publication of vocabularies has been viewed as one of the most useful activities of the Polynesian Society, hence we welcome the following contribution from Mr. Collocott. Those acquainted with the Maori dialect of the far-spread Polynesian language will recognise many words in the following list, albeit concealed to some extent by certain letter changes. Some of the words included are of special interest, such as the following:—

Ala-folau, canoe house; *Fakafolau*, migratory birds. Here we have the Polynesian word *folau* "to travel," "to voyage," from which come the Maori *wharau*, a canoe shed, a rude hut erected by travellers, as also *wharau-roa*, the cuckoo, the far-travelled or migratory bird. *Farau* and *halau* denote a canoe shed in the Tahitian and Hawaiian dialects. Tahitian *tafarau* and Maori *tawharau* mean to shelter a canoe by placing it in a shed.

Baniolo is probably the equivalent of Maori *Paniora*=Spaniard.

Buonoono, nose flute. Here *bu* is probably the Maori *pu*, as in *pu kaea*, *pu torino*, etc., well known wind instruments. *Fagufagu* would probably be *whangowhango* in Maori.

Fai, to pluck, recalls Maori *whaki*, as in Maori *whawhaki*, to pluck off.

Matatuna, top of cocoanut. Possibly an allusion to the well known myth concerning the origin of the cocoanut and *Tuna*, the eel.

Hila, lightning, is *uira* in Maori, *uila* in Samoan, while *uhila* is a Tongan form. The Maori has also, apparently, preserved the form *hira*, to flash, as in "Hira mai te whekite o te rangi," a phrase met with in certain old formulæ.

Hina, the moon, is far-spread as *Hina* and *Sina*, the female personified form of the moon.

Lei mangamanga is probably connected with the *rei* of Atiu, described by Colonel Gudgeon at p. 210 of Vol XIII. of this Journal.

Mauli, alive, is another far-spread term in its various forms, *mauri*, *tamauri*, *mouri*, *moui* and *maui*. Life, living, life principle are meanings attached to it.

Matofi, a phase of the moon, compares with Maori *Rakau-matohi*.

Tolo is marked doubtful, but *tolo* and *toro*, to generate is a far-spread word, and appears in Tiki-toro, Tiki the Generator. In connection with plant life the term *tinaku* was employed, hence the name of the "mother" of the *kumara*, Pani-tinaku.

Tubua. The meanings of "sacred, wonderful, ancient," assigned to this highly interesting term throw more light on some puzzling uses of the word in ancient compositions. The general meaning in our local Maori dialect is "supernormal, uncanny."

Under Counting we find that *kauika* denotes 20 in counting fish, and here we have the old Polynesian term *kau*, an assembly, a multitude, etc., *te kau* being an old term employed to denote 20.—Editors.]

[p. 146]

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121 THIS small list of Tongan words is intended to supple-
ment the well known dictionary of Dr. Shirley Baker,
128 which is founded on that of the Rev. S. Rabone. This is
referred to in this list as Baker. The French and Tongan
Dictionary of the Marist Mission is referred to as Diction-
128 naire Toga-Français. No attempt has been made to include
127 here all words which occur in the latter dictionary but not
in Baker, though some few words which have been
encountered casually in other places, but which are included
in the Marists' publication, are inserted here, sometimes
128 with meanings taken from their book. A few words which
occur in Baker have also been included when it has seemed
121 possible to add something to his explanation. It is not to be
114 presumed that this supplementary list taken in conjunction
with the two dictionaries referred to form an adequate Ton-
121 gan dictionary. This is merely an attempt to contribute
127 my very small quota to the task of the future dictionary-
maker by putting in permanent and easily accessible form
words which I have from time to time encountered in con-
versation, and in the reading of Tongan poems and tales,
some of them in manuscript and some printed, mainly in
Koe Makasini, the Tongan magazine founded, and long
127 edited, by the late Rev. Dr. Moulton. Much of the manu-
script material to which I have had access was collected by
him.

127 Although some words are included from easily accessible
128 printed sources, for example, Mr. E. W. Gifford's *Tongan
Myths and Tales* (Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu, 1924),
and a very few from the masterpiece of Tongan composition,
Dr. Moulton's Translation of the Bible, no effort has been
made to include all words from sources which are in no
danger of disappearing or being overlooked. The few words
from the Bible are such as have casually come under my
notice. If the highly desirable task of compiling a satisfac-
tory and adequate dictionary of the Tongan language be
ever undertaken there is little likelihood of words printed in
the Bible, or in Hymn Books, being missed.

128 Too frequently I have had to admit my ignorance of the
meaning of a word. This illustrates one of the disadvantages
of compiling, or completing, such a list at a distance from
the country where the language is spoken. Where I have
marked a word as of uncertain meaning it is not to be pre-
sumed that the word is rare. "Meaning uncertain" is

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128 merely a confession of my own ignorance. This list is not the fruit of systematic collection of words. It has been compiled more or less casually, and doubtless as much has been missed as is included.

114 Through the inspiration, and under the guidance, of Mr. A. R. Brown and the Hon. William Tungi, a committee was formed in 1918 to compile a dictionary, but, for various reasons, ceased to function after a few meetings. The need that a dictionary should include all forms in which a root is found will be readily appreciated by those who have noted the readiness with which consonants drop out in the Oceanic languages. There are, moreover, in Tongan, as in all languages, words which do not lie on the surface, some of which perhaps are obsolete or obsolescent, whilst others, though well known to the native, do not come within the ken of the foreigner even after years of use of the language. Until dictionaries are compiled including all words conclusions as to distribution of various streams of migration may rest upon insecure foundations insofar as philological evidence is relied upon.

192 There are words included in this list which are felt by
the Tongans to be loan words, largely from Fiji; there are
other words which by their form suggest borrowing from
Fiji or Samoa, but are not felt as loan words by the present-
[195] day Tongan. Bards seem frequently to embellish their
compositions with such evidences of foreign erudition. My
121 purpose has been, not to settle all the difficulties which the
dictionary-maker will meet, but to ensure that he will have
at his disposal the small amount of material which I have
collected, and to afford some slight assistance to anyone who
may desire to read the Tongan poems and tales, and also
to indicate the meanings of words which one may hear in
conversation but not find in his dictionary.

104 In orthography I fear that I have not lessened the con-
fusion that already exists. Two consonants have had
114 especially harsh treatment in Tongan, *b* or *p*, and *s* or *j*.
B and *p* are both used by Mariner who was in the group
at the beginning of the 19th century, *b* alone is used by the
English Methodist Mission, and *p* alone by the French
Catholic Mission. Dr. Baker used both. The dictionary
committee of 1918, which included representatives of the
Government, and of the English and French mission bodies,
decided, undoubtedly correctly, to employ but one symbol for

104 a sound which it is sometimes difficult to distinguish as voiced
or unvoiced. The practical difficulty of deciding whether it
114 was to be *b* or *p* remained unsolved in the few meetings that
were held. I have written *b*, not as an expression of my
104 opinion that it is the better symbol to employ, but because
it is used in by far the most important part of existing
Tongan literature. As a matter of personal preference I
have come to think that if a fresh start could be made *p*
would be the better symbol.

104 The English Methodists wrote *j*, and the French Catholics
114 *s* to indicate a sound which Mariner writes *ch*. This
194 sound is always followed by *i*, and corresponds to the
Samoan *ti*; but the pronunciation *ch*, which I have heard
197 from an elderly Tongan, has practically disappeared, and in
present-day Tongan the sound is hardly, if at all, distinguishable
from English *s*. There are also words in which
s is not followed by *i*, some of which may be genuine Tongan
words, whilst others may have come later into the language,
104 probably from Samoa and Fiji. I have in this list
provisionally written *s* throughout, although the 1918 committee
114 decided to use *j* before *i*, and there was even, if I
remember rightly, a proposal to try to revive the old pronunciation
ch. Such an attempt to arrest the progress of
194 phonetic change would probably prove abortive. Should the
dictionary-maker decide to employ *j* to represent the old
197 pronunciation *ch* examination of Samoan cognates will
generally settle the question of *s* or *j*. All occurrences of *s*
not followed by *i* will be examined bearing in mind the possibility
of their having come late, or very late, into the language,
though it must be noted that Mariner uses *s* in a
few words; but this, of course, does not rule out the possibility
of borrowing.

104 The stop ('), which is too often neglected in writing
Tongan, I have endeavoured to put in. One feels, however,
128 the disadvantage of absence from the country in dealing
with a matter which requires such delicate discrimination,
and quite probably I have committed errors both of omission
and inclusion. Indeed, the whole paper abounds with indications
of my ignorance, and other workers will, doubtless,
find many inadequacies.

To the list of words I have added a note on measuring
and counting, which, although not wide enough to include

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

128 all the specific words used in counting and measuring vari-
ous classes of objects, will, I hope, illustrate the principles
sufficiently clearly.

A few proverbial expressions also are added. My friend
● [114] the Rev. John Havea and myself collaborated in a collection
of proverbs which was published by the Bishop Museum
(Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans, Honolulu, 1922), and
the proverbs appended here are some that have come to
hand since the publication of that paper. As in the larger
collection I have translated each Tongan phrase literally,
114 and added some explanation of its use. My obligations to
Tongan friends are innumerable, especially to the Revs.
John Havea and John Kuli, Miss Alice Ahio, Hon. William
Tungi, and to several of the youths who were my pupils at
127 the Tubou College, Nafualu. A number of published works
have been consulted, but especial use has been made of
113 Edward Tregear's *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Diction-
ary* (Wellington, 1891). Hazelwood's *A Fijian and English
and an English and Fijian Dictionary* (Waterlow and Sons,
Ltd., London, 1914), Pratt's *Grammar and Dictionary of
the Samoan Language* (Samoa, 1911), the Marist Mission's
Dictionnaire Toga-Français et Français-Toga-Anglais
(Paris, 1890), and the Rev. Shirley W. Baker's *An English
and Tongan Vocabulary, also a Tongan and English Vocabu-
lary* (Auckland, 1897). There are a few references in the
vocabulary to a paper on *Tongan Astronomy and Calendar*
114 (Bishop Museum Press, Hawaii, 1922). A visit to Niua
Fo'ou in 1922 gave me a few words of the dialect of that
197 island, which differs somewhat from that spoken in the
128 main portion of the Tongan Group. These have been
included in the present vocabulary. Some brief notes on this
113 dialect appeared in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society,*
Vol. XXXI., No. 4.

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

192 *Matofi*, *Matofi-tele*, } a phase of waning moon. (V. *Tongan Astronomy and Calendar*, p. 16, probably the explanation given there is wrong, and *ma-* is a prefix, and not the noun *ma;* cf. Samoan.) [114] [193] ←

Matu, see Baker; word also occurs in a text where its meaning is doubtful, *A matu a mai* (possibly this is wrong division of words).

Matúa, long smooth wave.

Matu'atu'a, hard, applied, e.g., to the skin.

Me'a, go, come, wish, speak, see, know (chiefly).

Me'a'i, wish, speak, see, know (chiefly).

Me'etaki, a dance.

Me'e-tu'ubaki (or *tubaki?)*, a dance.

Meleihe, (i) *tapa*-mallet (Niua Tobutabu); stump of shark's tail.

Melega, remains of flowers and leaves after garland has been plaited.

Melemelekaki, quickly.

Mesini, small piece of *kava* offered to a god, especially before undertaking an important or hazardous task.

Mio, twisted.

Miti, a savory, of which the basis is coconut fermented in seawater. (V. *Hami.)*

Moe-ekina, sleep. (V. *Moeaki*, Baker.)

Moeia, *Moe*, } tread, trodden.

Moia, (i) supplicate; (ii) go, enter; (iii) struck by that which has been put up to ward off a blow (e.g., if one puts up his arm to fend a blow, but the blow is so vigorous that the defence is borne down, and the face struck, not only by the blow aimed at it, but also by the protecting arm).

Mou, *(mo au)*, and I.

Mo'u, smegma.

Moua, know.

Mougalaulau, paddle-shaped weapon of war.

Moheaki, sleep in preparation for some task.

Moheofo, (i) one who stays ashore guarding the *tabu* house of an absent fishing excursion; (ii) take a girl to a great chief; (iii) principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga (cf. Sam. *Masiofo).*

Mohe-taka, sleep away from home.

Mohe-toto, sleep bloody, i.e., sleep without bathing after fighting, since the fight is to be resumed; hence unfinished war, unfinished task in general.

Moko, lie, sit.

Mokoi, like, prefer (Tu'i Tonga word).

Momoa, name of a fish. *M. uli*, black *momoa*, *m. bulebule*, spotted m., *m. kula*, red m.

Momoauli, *(moauli)*, go-between for lovers; to act as go-between for lovers, as agent in securing a wife, and hence more generally, arranging, acting for someone.

Momoa-fisi, black and red cock.

Monoa'a, head wind.

Monu, fortunately, luckily.

Motelolo, a large sweet-scented shrub.

Motulalo, lower or leeward islands; applied especially to the southerly islands of Vava'u.

Mu'anavu, dress the front of the head with lime.

Mu'avaka, first boat, i.e., chief's boat; hence used of that which would bring one fame, pre-eminence.

Muiloto, land formation inland which has the appearance of a cape.

Mulimuli, equivalent to *muimui* (Niua Fo'ou).

Mulimuli-foe, propel a canoe with the steering-oar.

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 19. *Kuo vala 'ae fonua.* The land is clad, i.e., protected, not exposed to its enemies.

195 20. *Lelei 'ae fale kae kovi 'ae bou.* The house is good but the posts are bad. This indicates a person whose body is well-built, but whose legs are thin.

21. *Tau 'i tu'a fuga.* Reached land outside the anchorage. This is used of unsuccessful effort, as of a boat which has not been able to make the anchorage, but has had to come in wherever she could.

22. *Tau fegogo fai fua ki 'ulu.* Struggle leaning on, helping each other, direct the course ahead. This indicates persons struggling along, helping each other with an already great burden, but going on always to greater things.

23. *To'a-ki-kaume'a.* Brave-for-friend. Courage on behalf of a friend. In connection with this expression is told the devotion of the daughter of cannibal parents who sacrificed herself to save a girl friend.

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PHASES OF THE MOON IN TONGA.

Some time ago I wrote a short paper containing all that I had then been able to gather concerning the naming of the days and
114 nights.* Since then a Tongan manuscript has come into my hands
127 with some fresh, and some confirmatory, material bearing on this
[128] subject. I translate it for comparison with my earlier paper:—

821 *Matakila*, when the moon begins to appear, and is said to be seen by gods and only afterwards by men.

Faka-ua and so on to *Faka-valu*. There is no *Faka-hiva*, or higher number, but the moon is then called *Tu'u-efiafi*, risen at evening, or in the afternoon.

Bunifaga, when the moon is bigger than half.

Fuofuavale, almost full moon.

Katoa-to, full moon, but setting (before day-break?).

Fakatau-ata, setting after dawn *(ata)*.

Mama-lou, the moon sets just before sun-rise, and rays are seen both of the moon which has just disappeared, and of the sun which is about to appear.

Feahoaki, the moon has risen whilst it is still day, and is in the sky when the next day breaks.

Uluaki ahoia, the moon is still in the sky when the day breaks.

Tafaleu, when the flattening of one side of the moon's disc becomes apparent.

Ma'una, the moon is still in the sky when day has broken, but is past the full. This is a night that is noted by the bonito-fishers.

Matofitele, the waning of the moon is very apparent.

Lekeleka, the moon is very small.

Lekeleka mate, the moon has almost disappeared.

The writer adds a note that there are 14 names for the phases of the moon.

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[113] * *Tongan Astronomy and Calendar* (Occasional Papers, B.P. Bishop Museum, Vol. 8, No. 4, Honolulu, 1922).

24: Rugby-Pratt M-3 (1922) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau

A *KAVA* CEREMONY IN TONGA.

By the Rev. M. A. Rugby Pratt.

114 [The writings of W. H. R. Rivers and others have raised the *kava* complex to a position of theoretical importance in the study of Polynesian ethnology. The following very detailed account of the ceremonial preparation of *kava* in the
276 Tongan Group is, therefore, of great interest. Such a ceremonial as is here recorded is now rare in those islands, and many members of modern *kava* parties
574 scarcely know the right positions to take up, much less the details of the
[178] ceremonial.—Editor.]

THE ceremonial way of making *kava* is called *milolua*, a word that is also employed to describe one method of straining, or "clearing" the *kava*.
122 The fact that on two occasions the full ceremony was carried through for my benefit was due to the circum-
123 stance that I was the guest of the Rev. J. B. Watkin, who, for fifty-six years has laboured as a missionary in the Friendly Islands, and won the fullest confidence and love of the Tongan people.

123 On the morning of Thursday, August 17th, 1922, accompanied by
[114] my host and the Native minister from Neiafu, the Rev. Paula Fonua, I set out from Neiafu, the capital of Vavau, for the village of Haalaufuli, some eight miles distant. Some two miles before reaching Haalaufuli we were met by a small cavalcade, and the horsemen escorted us to the village. Here we were received at the Mission House, and, having seated ourselves on the *lotoa*, or verandah, a dried *kava* root was laid at our feet, and a small offering of food was presented to us for some visitors who had followed us from Neiafu. This over, Mr. Watkin and I stepped into the Mission House and sat at a table laden with roast chicken, boiled chicken, curried chicken, fried chicken, roast sucking pig, and a profusion of fruit, vegetables and other good things. The only detail that I need mention is that we began the meal with a drink of hot coconut milk, that was served in cups made from folded banana leaf, a beverage that is heated in the *umu*, or oven of hot stones, and which, when poured into the green banana-leaf cup extracts from the cup some essential properties which produce a delightfully cool sensation in mouth and throat.

The meal over, we again repaired to the *lotoa* to be garlanded with exquisitely made floral *sisi*, to hear words of welcome, to hold a levee and to receive the customary gifts. There were two presentations. The first was a *koloa*, or presentation of goods, which included native mats, *tapa* cloth, coconut oil, necklaces made of *hano*, *lopa* and

[p. 198]

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9●
Samoa OU8

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TABLE 2—INANIMATE REPRESENTATIVES OF TONGAN AND SAMOAN GODS.

Object	Tonga	Samoa
Whales' teeth	6	1
Sharks' teeth	-	1
Trumpet shell	-	2
Cypraea shell	-	1
Unnamed shell	1	1
Stones	2	3
Fine mats	2	-
Coconut leaf basket	-	1
White tapa cloth	-	1
Turmeric ball	1	-
Wooden bowl	-	3
Throwing club	2	-
Striking club	1	-
Coconut wood spear	-	1
Shield *(pa)*	1	-
Pitching discs *(lafo)*	1	-
	17	15

IMAGES FROM TONGA.

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Amongst the objects listed in Table 2 there is no representative in human form nor any carved object except perhaps the Tongan club. Yet Wilkes[4] reported that in Samoa carved blocks of wood and of stone were set up in memory of chiefs and worshipped. Collocott[5] also, in speaking of the furniture of the temple of the Tongan god, Mafuta-ae-tau, states that it consisted of "fine mats, weapons of war, and carefully wrought pieces of wood painted with turmeric." This temple with its contents was burned after the acceptance of Christianity. Though the carved objects mentioned by Wilkes and Collocott may not have been in human form, the statements are interesting in view of the fact that carved images from both island groups are in existence. It is remarkable that neither Collocott nor Gifford were given information by the Tongans regarding the presence of images in the Haapai islands. Turner also made no mention of images in Samoa though such an object is now in the British Museum.

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[4] Wilkes, Charles, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, Philadelphia, 1844, vol. 2, p. 139.

[5] Collocott, E. V., Notes on Tongan Religion, *J.P.S.*, New Plymouth, 1921, vol. 30, p. 228.

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9

The existence in Haapai of inanimate representatives 778
of gods, shaped in human form, is established by the 532
documentary evidence of the missionary, John Williams, 127
who visited the Tongan group in 1830. At that time, Haapai 631
was subject to the authority of Taufaahau, who afterward 643
became ruler of the whole Tongan group with the title
of George Tupou I. Taufaahau, according to Williams,[6] 643
had despised the Tongan system of worship from his youth 797
and, coming in contact with missionaries during a visit
to Tongatabu, he resolved to abandon the gods of his
ancestors. On his return to Haapai, he "commenced the [798]
work of destruction upon the gods and maraes." Williams 114
had come to Tonga after work carried on in the Society 346
and Cook groups and by "marae" he meant the Tongan
house temple. His misuse of the term "marae" must not
be regarded as evidence that the *marae* form of religious
structure was present in Tonga. An opposing faction 798
determined to celebrate a religious festival in honour of 643
the gods whom Taufaahau was desecrating. Williams[7]
wrote as follows:

> "Taufaahau, resolving to anticipate and neutralize this movement, [778]
> drove a large herd of pigs into the sacred enclosure, converted a
> most beautiful little temple, which stood in the middle of it, into
> a sleeping appartment for his female servants, and suspended the
> gods by the neck to the rafters of the house in which they had
> been adored. The idolators, ignorant of his proceedings, came, with 798
> great ceremony, attended by their priests, to present their offerings, 778
> and found, to their astonishment, a number of voracious pigs, ready
> to devour anything they had to offer; and the gods, disrobed of
> their apparel, hanging in degradation, like so many condemned
> criminals."

The worshippers retired in indignation but evidently
did not attempt to cut down the gods from their elevated
position. Taufaahau conducted Williams to the building 798
and Williams[8] continues: 643

> "On observing five goddesses hanging by the neck, I requested 778
> this intrepid chief to give me one of them, which he immediately
> cut down and presented to me. I have brought it to England, with
> the very string around its neck by which it was hung."

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[6] Williams, John, *Missionary Enterprises*, London, 1839, p. 273. [113]

[7] Williams, *Opt. cit.*, pp. 273, 274.

[8] Williams, *Opt. cit.*, p. 275.

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9

532 Comparison with the Williams figure shows a similar
attitude of the arms and hands with prominence of the
532 breasts and gluteal region. The Williams figure shows a
114 flat face, flat head, and longer breasts, but these details
were probably exaggerated by the English artist who did
the drawing. The absence of eyes may also be due to
the artist.

127 Two images, similar to the Fuller image, are in the private collection of Mr. Oldman of London. In a discussion amongst Captain Fuller, Mr. Oldman, and myself, we came to the unanimous conclusion that the images in their collections must have come from the same locality as the Williams image. A strong possibility exists that one of the Oldman images is the one that Williams brought back to London.

532 Four smaller images cut out of whale-ivory are in
127 the British Museum, and the largest of them was so
realistically carved that, at first, I thought it was the
work of some European sailor. A comparison with the
Fuller image, however, showed that the technique was so
similar that there could be little doubt that the two came
from the same locality. Three of the ivory images are
labelled with the museum series of "Tah." which was
applied to accessions from Tahiti, but the museum authorities
532 place no reliance on the attribution to that locality. The
largest of the images is shown in fig. 3.

Except for the details of the ear, the description of the ivory figure is practically word for word identical with that of the Fuller image. The other three smaller ivory figures are shown in figs. 4, 5, and 6. All three have a vertical hole drilled through the back of the head evidently for suspension.

Fig. 6 differs from the previous two, not only in size
but in technical details. The downward extension of the
arms and the hole through the back of the head link it
[127] up with them. The different numbering shows that it
was not procured at the same time as the others.

[127] The available data for Tonga here presented consist
of three larger images in wood, which may include the
Williams image, and four smaller figures in whale-ivory.
In all of them, a similar position of the arms prevails.

to England by King Malietoa was made locally in Samoa by an inferior artist who was either Tongan or someone who was acquainted with the general appearance of the Haapai images.

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CARVED WEAPONS OF WESTERN POLYNESIA.

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The use of birds, fish, and human figures as motives in the carvings on certain types of weapons has been definitely established for Tonga. While the human motives vary in form, many of the figures with wide shoulders and dependent arms hanging free from the body suggest the characteristic attitude of the Hapaai images already described. As these figures are small and on the flat, the prominent breasts and gluteal region of the images could not be included. Their presence in so many weapons indicates that the characteristic image-attitude had become an established motive in Tonga. It might well be inferred that the human-motives on the clubs originated with the carving-school responsible for the images in Hapaai. Investigations as to the distribution of club-types in the Tongan group itself might shed light on the subject.

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The presence of zoomorphs and anthropomorphs in the carvings on Samoan clubs rests on the sole authority of Churchill.[11] The human figures recorded by him were confined to two clubs in the University of Pennsylvania Museum. I[12] have already expressed my opinion that, from the appearance of the figures and the clubs, the clubs were not Samoan but Tongan. Since then I have had the opportunity of personally examining the two clubs and I have now no doubt that both the clubs are Tongan. In fact, the museum catalogue definitely attributed one of them to Tonga, which reference Churchill must have overlooked. The one positive statement that human figures occur in Samoan club-carvings may thus be dismissed. Out of a large number of carved Samoan clubs examined by me in European and American museums, not one had zoomorphs or anthropomorphs as motives. My experience is shared by Messrs. Fuller and Oldman whose practical experience

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[11] Churchill, W., *Club Types of Nuclear Polynesia*, Carnegie Institute, Washington, 1917.

[12] Te Rangi Hiroa, Samoan Material Culture, *Bishop Museum Bulletin*, 75, Honolulu, 1930, p. 611.

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27: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1937 OU9 Tonga OU9

ADDITIONAL WOODEN IMAGES FROM TONGA

By Te Rangi Hiroa,

Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii.

114 In a previous paper,[1] describing wooden and whale-ivory
237 images from Tonga, reference was made to two wooden
images in the private collection of Mr. W. O. Oldman of
121 London. After the paper appeared, Mr. Oldman sent me
photographs and details of the two images mentioned and
237 of a third unique image that had come into his possession
after I saw the other two in 1933. Just as this paper was
being written, Mr. Oldman sent me a further photograph,
of a whale-ivory image that is also in his collection.
Mr. Oldman has kindly given me permission to reproduce
the four additional images and so make the series of Tongan
images up to date for the information of students of
Polynesian culture.

532 Two of the wooden images and the ivory one are in
the erect position with pendent arms, but the third wooden
237 image shows a unique departure in being carved in the
sitting position. The taller of the erect images is shown
in fig. 1.

The resemblance of fig. 1 to the figure in Williams'
work[2] is so great that they seem to represent the same
643 image. The presence of the cord around the neck in both
figures gives further support, but all doubt as to identity
798 is dispelled by the written inscription on the back which
532 reads as follows: "Goddess of Lifuga hung by Tafahau
on embracing Christianity. Hapai, July 1830."

Lifuga (Lifuka) is the principal island in the Haapai group where in 1830 John Williams met Tafaahau who later became George Tubou I of Tonga. It was on that occasion that Tafaahau[3] cut down one of the five goddesses suspended by their necks from the roof of a house and

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[1] Te Rangi Hiroa, "Material Representation of Tongan and Samoan Gods"; *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 44, p. 12, 1935.

[2] Williams, John, *Missionary Enterprises*, London, 1839, p. 274 (also *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 44, p. 10).

[3] Williams, John, *Missionary Enterprises*, London, 1839, p. 275.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 76]

28: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1941 OU9 Tonga OU9

534 The reeds may be regularly graduated in length from the
171 longest to the shortest or they may be arranged in a sequence
in which the lower ends present an irregular appearance.

Though Tonga is the only Polynesian group figured by
534 Edge-Partington, pan-pipes were also known in Samoa. A
127 solitary instrument in the British Museum has been wrongly
[114] attributed to New Zealand. I saw four Tongan instruments
in the British Museum and one in the Berne Museum. As
I took photographs and notes on the five instruments, I give
the details here to place the Tongan technique on record.

TONGA

The authenticity of pan-pipes in Tonga is placed beyond doubt by Cook (3, 3rd vol., pl. 21, fig. 5), who saw the instrument being played and figured a specimen, which Andersen reproduced in his work. The instrument figured is evidently the one I saw in the British Museum attributed to Cook. The other three in the British Museum were collected on a voyage of *H.M.S. Herald.* The instrument in the Berne Museum was collected by Webber, the artist with Cook's
534 third expedition. The five instruments are shown in fig. 1
128 and the number of reeds, length in inches of the shortest and
longest reeds, and the width of the instruments are given in
the accompanying table. The British Museum specimens are
grouped together under the number 56/7-9/6 and the Berne
Museum instrument is numbered Fr. 22.

534 The reeds consist of varying lengths of bamboo arranged in a single row with the upper open ends in a straight line and the lower closed ends forming an irregular line except in the smallest instrument (*e*). The open ends are trimmed both back and front into a concave curve, the curve on one surface being usually deeper than the other. The reeds are bound with two horizontal rows of coconut-husk fibre, an upper row a little below the open ends and a lower row just above the level of the closed end of the shortest reed.

[128] The instruments in fig. 1 are drawn in the position in which they were photographed by me with the shortest reed on the right, but I have no information as to whether or not this was the position when played. However, when held in this position, the deeper curves of the open ends are toward the mouth and one may therefore assume that this was the

28: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1941 OU9 Tonga OU9
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the Tongan type in having a larger number of reeds (33) arranged in regular sequence according to length and being bound together by lashing the reeds with narrow sennit braid to an upper horizontal bar and a lower oblique one. The type of Solomon Islands pan-pipe that it resembles is shown in fig. 3, *b*. It will be observed that the reeds in both instruments are regularly graded in length and the upper horizontal and lower oblique bars are present.

The Solomon Islands' instrument differs in that the bars are composed of flat strips of bamboo arranged in pairs for both horizontal and oblique bars whereas Ripley has used fairly thick rounded rods of some local wood on only one side of his instrument. For lashing, the Solomon Islanders used some form of local fibre which is not coconut-husk fibre, and Ripley used sennit. The lashing-technique is also different in the two instruments. It would be interesting to investigate the history of the introduced Solomon Islands labourers to find if some of them came from the district or island in which horizontal and oblique bars were used on their pan-pipes.

NEW ZEALAND

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The presence of pan-pipes in New Zealand, to quote Andersen (1, pp. 267-270), rests on its inclusion in a list of Maori musical instruments in Marshall's *Account of New Zealand*, 1834 and a set of pan-pipes in the British Museum attributed to New Zealand. The British Museum instrument was figured by Edge-Partington (2, series 1, pl. 386, fig. 4) in his *Ethnological Album of the Pacific Islands*, and this drawing was reproduced by Andersen in his work on *Maori Music*.

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Marshall is the authority for the statement that he saw two Maori women weaving a cloak from either end toward each other so that the weft-line met in the middle of the garment. Such a technique would involve the knotting together of the weft-elements in the middle of each row with the result that the completed garment would show a vertical row of knots in the middle of each garment. No such garment has been recorded, because no craftswoman would adopt such an inconvenient and untidy technique. What really happened was that one woman wove the weft line from left to right to the middle of the garment and then relinquished it to her

assistant who completed the row with the same weft- 114
elements while the first woman commenced another row.
By the time the new weft-row reached the middle, the assistant had completed the preceding row and was ready to take over. Thus two women could weave on the one garment, but the second woman worked away from the first and not toward her. An author who could not describe accurately what he saw can be little relied upon to record accurately what he did not see.

Andersen (1) mentions that J. Macmillan Brown wrote 534
that the pan-pipes were reported "once or twice from New 171
Zealand" but Brown did not give his authorities for this
statement. Evidently, according to Andersen, Macmillan 114
Brown referred to Marshall and Edge-Partington. Elsdon [177]
Best rightly considered that the instrument was essentially
Melanesian and had reached Tonga through Fiji. George 534
Graham, who made special inquiries for S. Percy Smith many
years ago, found that none of the old Maoris he interviewed 171
had ever seen or heard of such an instrument.

Coming to the instrument in the British Museum, it is [127]
curious that it should be the only specimen attributed to New
Zealand, whereas large numbers of the various Maori musical

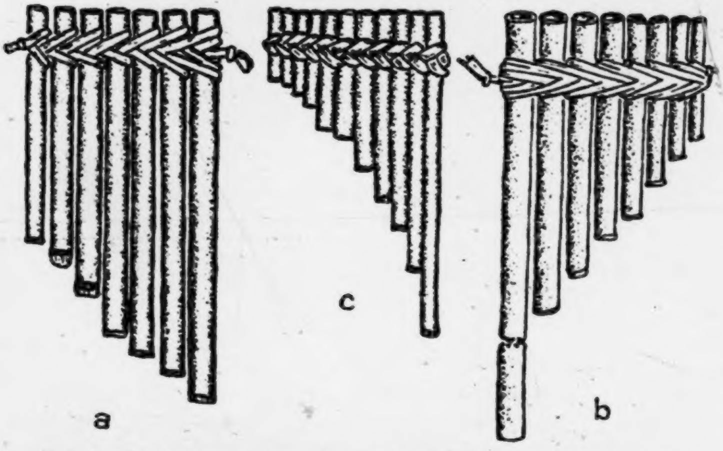

FIG. 4—PAN-PIPES WITH ONE ROW OF HERRING-BONE LASHING.

a. British Museum specimen wrongly attributed to New Zealand.

b. Tanna, New Hebrides (Cook's Voyages).

c. New Hebrides instrument in British Museum.

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9

LAND TENURE AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION IN TONGA

By R. R. NAYACAKALOU

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THIS IS THE first of several papers examining the relationship between 121
land tenure and social organisation in three Pacific Island communities—Fiji, Tonga and Samoa. My initial interest in the subject lay primarily in elucidating the social implications of the Fijian land tenure system, especially in its relation to present-day developments in the social and economic fields; but it soon became evident that for such a study the comparative approach would give a firmer base—hence the inclusion of Tonga and Samoa. Choice of these territories arose partly from practical considerations[1] but partly also from the fact that their systems are variant from the Fijian type in different ways.

The plan of the papers will follow closely the plan of the research which forms the basis of them. The relation between land tenure and social [128]
organisation will be studied separately in respect of Tonga, Samoa and then Fiji, and a final paper will draw the threads together in a general way, indicating the relevance of the conclusions to the Fijian situation in particular.

The research work on which the paper is based was carried out from 101
early December, 1957, to mid-February, 1958; I spent a total of five weeks in Tonga, three weeks in Samoa and three weeks in Fiji. In view of the 127
brevity of these periods, I have depended rather heavily upon existing documentary material for the background knowledge in the light of which my own material has been presented. I feel that while my own contribution has its 114
value, the brevity of the fieldwork should be kept in mind in assessing the value of the conclusions drawn.

In Tonga I stayed in the capital town of Nuku'alofa with an old friend, Mr. Mahe Uliuli Tupouniua, at the time Government Auditor in Tonga and formerly a colleague at the University of Auckland. My interpreter was Mr. Puniloa Afu, a Training College student on vacation at the time. My centre of research was four miles from where I lived, but I was able to get there and back each day by motor cycle. In Samoa, through lack of a suit- 000
able informant and also owing to the refusal of the people to discuss land matters in a village which I intended to investigate in detail, I was unable to obtain much first hand information. But owing to the very willing co-operation and assistance of the members of the Lands Department, and particularly the assistance given me by the Judge of the Land and Titles Court, I secured information which I think worth publishing. In Fiji I worked mainly in Suva, checking up on and expanding the knowledge already gained in connection with an earlier field trip.

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[1] These were the most accessible considering the normal movements of [114]
passenger traffic in the area and the time at my disposal; also they were of special interest to me as I was responsible for the teaching of the course on the ethnography of Fiji, Tonga and Samoa given at the Department of Anthropology in the University of Auckland.

(iii) Females living within the household may have *api* of their own which they have inherited themselves, e.g. a wife's mother. 592 423

(iv) Sometimes there is a time lag between the death of one holder and the accession of another.

(v) There do occur little connivances in these matters, especially where the person concerned is either related to or on specially good terms with the nobility.

This explains the case of households which have more than one *api*. But there are 27 households which have no *api*. One of these is where an old woman is living by herself without an *api* but the rest are cases where men are heads of households without *api*. Of these 26, 20 are men from another village or locality, and only 6 are men from this village. Of these 6, 2 have *api* in another village, and 3 others have just recently set up household on their own while still working land held by their fathers or elder brothers.[23]

Of the 20 men who come from another village, two have *api* in their own villages, two others are using *api* belonging to others, and 16 are sharing the use of the *api* of their friends and relatives in the village.[24]

Of the 27 households which have no *api* of their own in the village, 4 have *api* in another village, 4 others are using *api* the owners of which are away, and the remaining 19 share the use of the *api* of others. Of these 19, 13 share the *api* of one other household, 4 those of two others, 1 those of three others and 1 those of four other households.

By making these kinds of arrangements, the villagers are able to cope with circumstances not contemplated within the legal framework, though not strictly by illegal manipulation. The system, therefore, has some overall flexibility, the source of which is, of course, little more than the willingness of the people to share the *api* under their legal control with those people who have none.

Finally, something may be said about the relation of the distribution of land under this system to the distribution of money income in the village. Under the conditions of my field work this was a difficult question to investigate as I was not in the field long enough to introduce and discuss topics of this kind. But a small number of observations may be made. The main sources of money income from the land are copra and bananas, and a considerable amount is also earned from the sale of vegetables and garden produce. The price of bananas is about 10/- per case and there are two shipments each month; thus B's and C's statements at pp. 102-3 provide some basis for calculating the amount that an individual may earn by the sale of bananas. On the sale of garden produce I have no figures; but from the records kept at the offices of the Copra Board in Nuku'alofa I was able to obtain some figures relating to copra production. From a list of 80 odd names of persons from the area of this village kept by the Board, I was able to recognise 25 as the names of heads of households which appear in my notes. The 423 434 [119] [435]

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[23] The arrangement is a temporary expedient until *api* of their own are found.

[24] See secton on Land Use, p. 107.

38: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1924
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 again the poignant regret that had pursued their elders. Hemoana returned to the sea, leaving his sister pregnant. When the child was born the mother determined to slay it. So she battered it with a stone, and threw it into the sea. The body drifted away, and came ashore in Tofua, at a place called Lofia, in commemoration of the fact that it lay there covered over in shallow water.

[778] Tobukulu and Nafanua became two rocks to whom the Tongans used to pray for rain and prosperous seasons, and also for good hauls of fish, but they did not pray to them for recovery from sickness.[1]

E. E. Collocott.

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114 [1] Although Tongan folklore might give considerable help in the attempted solution of many Polynesian problems, by virtue of the geographical position of the island group, hitherto only a very imperfect record has been made, and it may now be too late to add to that record. [113] There is not very much to be found in the two little volumes of W. Mariner's *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands* (see "Fishing up Tonga," vol. i. (1827), p. 228; there is a tale ("The Beginning of Death"), told by a Tongan chief, in L. Fison's *Tales from Old Fiji* (pp. 139 *et seq.*); and there are about 25 pages of "traditions" in vol. ii. of *Anthropos* (1907). The preceding versions, translated by a member of the Society, the Rev. E. E. Collocott of Nukualofa, Tonga, from the Tongan in Dr. Moulton's magazine, are therefore a valuable addition to the material available to English students of Oceanic folklore.—[Ed.]

40: Moulton M-4,5 (ca.1880-1920)
1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

769 776 779 looked upon as a god. This would account for such gods as Tu'i Lalotonga, Tu'i 'Ahau, Taliai Tubou, and others. All the inquiries of the present writer negative the assertion that the spirits of chiefs as a general thing became gods. We may then look upon the gods of the first class as primitive, brought by the Tongans from their original home, and the third class as the gods of the aboriginals whom they conquered. The second class contained also some primitive gods, but was recruited largely from the spirits of ancestors—*i.e.* the spirits of certain deceased chiefs by whom kings and notable personages fancied themselves to have been possessed.

778 776 779 [782] The other point the present writer made special inquiries about was whether the Tongans worshipped the clubs, whales' teeth, animals, trees, stones, etc., before which they placed their offerings, or the god who was supposed to be temporarily residing in them. The answer was decisive. The clubs, trees, etc., were simply the *vaka*, the god itself was spiritual. *Vaka* signifies a 'mode of conveyance,' usually a canoe, but also a carriage, or anything by which one is conveyed from place to place.

776 779 [178] [178] Probably we may see here a development of their spiritual ideas. The oldest class—Tangaloa, Maui, Hemoana—were undoubtedly corporeal. Their bodies performed all the functions of human bodies, and they were inflamed with human passions. But the Tongans had long ceased to pray to them, and scarcely any vestiges of their worship remained when the missionaries came. The third class of gods, too, were corporeal, but there are no signs of worship being paid them at any time. These two classes existed side by side; but long before the introduction of Christianity both had been discarded as objects of worship, which was paid only to the second class. In other words, the Tongans had worked out a theology, which had, at any rate, this noble feature in it, that God was a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit.

192 776 779 [114] The general Tongan term for supernatural beings is *fa'ahikehe*. This is often shortened into *fa'ahi*, and when the adjective *lahi* ('great') is added—*fa'ahi lahi*—the idea conveyed is that of full deity. *Fa'ahi* signifies properly 'a party,' 'a side' (as in cricket); or it may be short for *fa'ahinga* = 'kind,' 'class,' 'race,' 'species,' 'genus.' *Kehe* = 'other' (ἕτερος, not ἄλλος), so *fa'ahikehe* is 'different folk,' 'other kind of people.' The usual word for 'God' is *'Otua*. Mariner spells it *Hotooa*, but there is no *h* in it. The inverted comma represents a guttural, a half *k*, which is one of the difficulties of the language. It is not readily recognised by the European ear, and is mostly neglected by foreigners, while being as intractable as the Ayin in Hebrew. The present writer has failed to find any derivation for *'Otua*, or meaning other than 'God,' and believes it to be a primitive Polynesian word. In some parts of the Pacific it appears as *Atua*.

[114] [769] The other great word is *'Eiki* = 'Lord,' which is used as in English for both earthly and heavenly lords. Hence it is not so high a term as *'Otua*. Indeed it seems sometimes to mean only 'supernatural.' Thus a corpse is called *ha me'a faka'eiki*, which apparently signifies 'a thing belonging to the spirit world.' Probably Mariner was thinking of this when he said (vol. ii. p. 130): 'The human soul after its separation from the body is termed *hotooa*, *i.e.* a god or spirit.' He is certainly wrong in that statement. It is clear that *'eiki* was not the original form of the word, which the laws of the language point out to have been *ariki*.

776 779 643 643 195 [764] We must not pass over the fact that the members of one of the dynasties of kings were regarded as gods. This was the earliest line of kings, and their title was *Tu'i Tonga* ('King of Tonga'). They were certainly looked upon as in some sense divine beings; and instances are on record of prayers being offered to them. Words applied only to the gods were used in addressing them; such as *'Ei*, already referred to, *ha'ele*, and *'afio*, used of the movements of deity. The face of the Tu'i Tonga was termed the 'sky,' and to him, as the representative of the gods, were presented the 'first-fruits.' This ceremony, called the *'inasi*, or 'portion,' is described by Mariner (vol. ii. p. 196). When a Tu'i Tonga died, he was said to be 'missing' (*hala*), and he was buried in a *ziggurat*, or pyramid

[p. 377-B]

643 of steps. This was called a *langi*, or 'heaven'; and
195 many of them remain in tolerable preservation, and
764 excite the wonder of the visitor by the huge size of
many of the stones, some of which measure over
20 ft. in length.

173 Many, probably most, of the names of the Tu'i
Tonga have been preserved, and their history
643 curiously reminds us of the story of the Carlovingians
and Merovingians in France. One of the
Tu'i Tonga, called Takalaua, was murdered, and
his son and successor Kau'ulufonuafekai, from
weariness or fear, devolved the duties of government
on his younger brother, reserving to himself
the honours and emoluments of the office.
His brother assumed the title of Tu'i Ha'a
Takalaua ('King of the Takalauans'), and soon
got all the power into his hands, the Tu'i Tonga
becoming a *roi fainéant*. After a few generations,
however, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua became effete,
and the government was handed over to another
branch, called the Tu'i Kanokubolu ('King of
Kanokubolu,' the town in which he lived). This
643 is the title of the present dynasty. Representatives
of the other two lines, however, still exist,
[195] but the titles are not used. The representative,
however, of the Tu'i Tonga holds even now a
quasi-sacred position, and is still addressed as the
gods used to be; and words sacred to deity are
used for all his movements.

● 114 Mariner mentions another semi-divine person called the Veachi
(vol. ii. p. 80). This part of his narrative is very perplexing,
as neither Vesson nor Thomas nor any of the modern chiefs
knows anything about him.

192 The word used all over Polynesia for 'religion,'
'worship,' 'prayer,' etc., is *lotu*. Fortunately
this has a meaning in Tongan, and signifies 'a
seeking for something that is hard to find.' Thus
when famine prevails, the people *lotu kai*, *i.e.* go
all over the land looking for food. It is also used
for the restlessness of a caged animal seeking an
outlet, and for the cry of an animal for its mate or
192 companions. This is not the only word common
to Polynesia which finds its meaning in Tongan.
197 *Tabu* (or *taboo*), now of world-wide use, signifies in
Tongan that something which might be opened is
closed. These and other considerations lead one
to think that the Tongan language comes nearer
than most of the dialects to the original Polynesian
tongue.

782 3. The religious rites of the Tongans were few.
There was nothing in their religion corresponding
to our idea of worship. If they wanted something
782 —rain, fair winds, good crops, successful fishery—
or if they wished to prevent some calamity—such
789 as sickness, death, hurricanes, war—they would
seek the favour of a god, would offer sacrifice and
pray. But to come into his temple, to worship, to
sing his praises, to dwell upon his attributes—this
771 was a foreign idea altogether. Hence there was
very little in the Tongan religion to cultivate the
181 conscience, or to control the passions, or to elevate
the thoughts. Mariner thinks otherwise, and we
would gladly believe his favourable report of the
181 Tongan character. But all our information—and
much of it goes back to Mariner's time—contradicts
114 his statements. He even contradicts himself. The
Feenow he speaks so highly of was a monster of
iniquity; and there is no doubt that for centuries
theft, murder, lust, treachery, and almost everything
in the catalogue of evil, have been rife in
Tonga. No man's life or property, and no woman's
honour, was safe for a day.

782 They never went to their gods empty-handed; a
piece of kava root for making the native drink was
[793] a *sine qua non*. Baskets of food, too, were usually
brought in addition, and presented to the god or
his priest. One of the party would then state the
object of their visit, and implore the deity to grant
their request, or use his influence with the gods of

539 he entered into the Kiu (? 'Sea-lark'), and went down, and flew in all directions, but could not see any land, only shallows. Then went he up to heaven and reported to the Tangaloas that there was no land, only something that looked like shallows. Said the heavenly chief, 'Wait seven nights, and then go again and see': so Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo remained seven days in the sky, and then went down to look at the shallows. The bottom was evidently coming up, and he reported to heaven, 'It looks like a reef.' He said also, 'I can find nothing to stand on and rest.' So they said, 'Go to Tangaloa the Smith, and let him throw down the dust of the pumice he sharpens his axes with.' So Tangaloa Tufunga did so, and threw down the dust of his grindstone, and produced the island of 'Eua. On this being reported, Tangaloa was sent down to stand there and watch. By and by a bit of the shallows would become dry, and ultimately a large land grew up, which consisted, however, only of sand. Tangaloa reported, 'My land is large, but nothing will grow on it.' Then said Lord Tangaloa, 'Take this seed, and set it in the land you have discovered.' It was a *fue* (convolvulus). So he set it, and it overspread the land. Then said he, 'There is vegetation enough, but no people: and Lord Tangaloa and the other heavenly chiefs replied, 'Go and split the root of the *fue*.' He did so, and it rotted and produced a grub. So he reported to the sky, 'A great thing is lying in the *fue* I split.' They ordered him to cut it in two, and to call the head Kohai ('Who is it?') and the tail Koau ('It is I'). He did so, and both parts became men: as did also a little piece that had adhered to his beak. This was called Momo ('Little Bit'): and he with the other two were the first men.

Now at that time Maui the Elder ordered his family to go on board a canoe, and fish up lands. There were four Maui in the canoe: Maui Loa, Maui Buku, and Maui 'Atalanga with his son Maui Kijikiji; and they took their mother Vele with them. She was the maker of mats and fine robes. They called at Manuka, a part of Samoa that was already above the waters. And Maui Kijikiji, leaping ashore, went to get a fish-hook. Meeting the chief's wife, he ravished her; and she, taking kindly to him, revealed her husband's secret, that the magic fish-hook, which would bring up lands, was not a bright and glittering one, but an old and rusty hook, stuck in the reeding. So they got the hook, and, having tried it successfully near Samoa, sailed on boldly, and pulled up Tonga and many other groups of islands. When they came to 'Eua, and saw the three men, they asked whether they had any women; and on their replying 'No,' they went and fetched three, so that they might have one each.

At that time the sky was very low, and an ironwood tree that stood in Tonga reached quite up to heaven. So 'Eitu-Matubu'a was wont to climb down, and visit the earth; and, cohabiting with a woman in one of the islands, had a child by her called 'Aho'eitu. When he grew to man's estate, he asked who and where his father was; and was directed by his mother to climb up the ironwood tree, and seek him in the sky. He finds him, is recognized, and sent to play with his brothers, who become jealous, and finally kill and eat him. 'Eitu, finding this out, makes them vomit into a large tub, and covers the *disjecta membra* with the leaves of the tree of life (*Nonu*). By and by the fragments cohere, and ultimately 'Aho'eitu is found sitting up alive. His brothers are punished by being turned out of heaven, and have to serve 'Aho'eitu on earth, who becomes the first Tu'i Tonga, superseding the children of the 'grub.' The Maui afterwards pushed the sky higher up, as it is at present.

Now the Maui dwelt in the under world, but one of them, Maui 'Atalanga, said to his brethren, 'Have you any objection to my living on the earth, if I visit you from time to time?' And they said, 'No.' So 'Atalanga went up to the earth, taking his young son Kijikiji with him. He lived in Vava'u, and married a mortal wife. Now Maui 'Atalanga did not plant in Vava'u; for he was a mighty planter, and there was not land enough; so he had his plantation in the under world. He kept this, however, a secret from his son Kijikiji, for he was such a mischief. But Maui Kijikiji tracked his father by his footsteps, and, seeing him lift a bush and descend into the earth, waited a while and followed him. Many tricks did he play, until one day his father sent him to Maui the Elder to get a fire-stick. Kijikiji kept quenching the fire and going back for more. At last old Maui told him to take the whole log. This was of enormous size, but the young Maui took it up with ease. Old Maui, who had not recognised his grandson, perceiving that he was a superhuman being, challenged him to wrestle—with the result that the elder Maui was thrown and left for dead. 'Atalanga, hearing of it, strikes his son with his spade and kills him. On going, however, to see how his father was faring, he finds the old man alive, and rather pleased than not with his defeat by his grandson, and angry with his son for having killed him. They apply, however, the leaves of the tree of life, and Maui Kijikiji revives. His next exploit is to carry some fire from the under world to earth, in spite of the efforts of his father to prevent him. They then devote themselves to fighting with and destroying the monstrous animals that infested the world—a huge rat, a gigantic bird called the Moa, a lizard, and some carnivorous trees, etc. Maui 'Atalanga is at last devoured by a huge dog that lived in a magic cave which opened and closed automatically; and his son, after killing the dog, died of grief for his father, etc.

113 LITERATURE.—The principal authorities on the state of Tonga in early times are these: William Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*[3], London, 1818; G. Veeson, *Authentic Narrative of Four Years' Residence in Tongataboo*, do. 1810; S. S. Farmer, *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*, do.

114 1855. [Mariner's is a most valuable work. He gives evidence

[p. 379-B]

40: Moulton M-4,5 (ca.1880-1920)
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of being possessed of no common ability, and of an excellent memory; and, if the present writer has ventured to differ from him, it is for the following reasons: (1) the shortness of Mariner's stay—only 4 years; (2) his obvious want of acquaintance with the niceties of the language; (3) the considerable time that elapsed between his leaving Tonga and the writing down of his reminiscences; (4) the fact that the present writer's acquaintance with Tonga extends over a period of 40 years; (5) that most of his information was taken down from the lips of the 'Last of the Bards,' a once heathen chief called Tongavalevale, who was the repository of their folk-lore and ballads; (6) that he has had access to the unpublished journals of the Rev. John Thomas, Wesleyan minister, who went to Tonga in 1826, and was the first missionary to make a lengthened stay.]

J. EGAN MOULTON.

[P380]

TONGAN COLOUR-VISION.

By Ernest Beaglehole,

Victoria University College, Wellington, N.Z.

114 **170** The following material regarding the colour
vision of the Polynesian Tongans was
collected during the course of a recent field trip
[101] to Tonga. The data were collected by Pearl
Beaglehole and myself from Tongans living in
the village of Pangai, Vava'u, which was our
headquarters while in the field, and from other
Tongans from the out-patients' department
of the Government Hospital, Neiafu, and
from the Government Gaol, Neiafu. I have
to thank Dr. J. C. Lopdell, Assistant Medical
Officer, and Mr. John Feiloakitau, Chief
Magistrate, both of Neiafu, for official assistance
which helped us in the collection of the material.

125 The test used for colour-blindness was the
Ishihara test (7th ed.), generally regarded as a
reliable test for colour defects. We examined
151 135 Tongans, 67 males and 68 females. Five males
proved to be red-green blind, a percentage of 7·46.
143 No cases of female red-green blindness were detected.
No cases of blue-yellow blindness nor of complete
colour-blindness in either sex were discovered.

[p. 170-A]

population growth over the last three decades, and 241
consequently the rate of increase in the intensity of
cropping, has probably been more rapid than the 182
rate at which Tongan farmers are willing to change
their established methods and particularly their
habits of work. By contrast, the more elaborate [171]
techniques used by the New Guinea agriculturalists
discussed by Brookfield (1962) and Clarke (1966)
appear to have been developed over a lengthy period
under conditions of slow population growth. Fur- 242
thermore, in the past the Department of Agriculture 654
has done very little experimental or extension work
on the problem of maintaining soil fertility under 182
food cropping, and most of the technical advice 241
given has concerned cash crops. Consequently many
Tongan farmers have little knowledge of the tech-
niques that could be adopted, and unlike shifting
cultivators in some other areas they have had no
contact with peoples practising more advanced
systems of subsistence agriculture.[2] They also have 241
no tradition of livestock farming (except with pigs) 231
which could be developed into an intensive farming
system based on manuring, as is found in parts of 182
Africa.

The relevance of Boserup's thesis to the process 128
of agricultural change in Tonga may now be briefly
reviewed. While none of the material presented 114 ●
above conflicts with her thesis that the intensifica-
tion of traditional agricultural systems occurs only 241
when forced by population pressure, for it is evident 182
that differences in the intensity of cropping in Tonga
are related to differences in population density
rather than to differences in land quality, it does
suggest some qualifications to her argument.

Firstly, not all of the adaptations made by Tongan 241
farmers to population growth have involved in-
creases in labour input, for one response has been 182
to adopt a high yielding and easily cultivated crop
such as cassava.[3] Secondly, a good deal of intensi-
fication seems possible without necessitating basic
changes in the agricultural system. Short-term in-

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[2] Compare the comments by Boserup (1965, pp.41, 64).

[3] On the other hand more labour is now required for clearing [433]
and weeding gardens and yields have probably been affected
by the decline in soil fertility, but whether the net result has
been a decline in output per man-hour is impossible to deter-
mine in the absence of data on labour inputs and production.

[p.63-B]

44: Posesi Fanua G,I-5 (no date) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE PALACE OFFICE
'OFISI 'OE PALASI

I would like to make it clear to the public that this book is not a linguistic work, neither is it an historical one. It is written for entertainment's sake and to try and offer my own people, and others that may be interested, something to while away some time that may seem too long for them.

Na'e 'ikai fa'u e tohi ni ko ha tohi fakahisitolia pe tufunga lea. Ka 'oku ou fakatauange 'e ma'u ai ha fiefia 'a ha ni'ihi, kae'uma'ā 'a hoku fanga tokoua, pea mo e vūlangi kotoa.

Tupou Posesi Fanua

44: Posesi Fanua G,I-5 (no date) 1975
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Intro

114 Tupou Posesi Fanua has achieved a real honor by writing
the first book of Tongan folk tales in two languages. Her
538 *fananga* – or, as she describes them, "stories used to lull
128 me to sleep," were told to her by her grandmother. Now
a grandmother herself, Tupou re-tells for us these tales she
heard as a child.

128 "My only request," she wrote when discussing *Po Fananga*, "is that the book should be printed in Tongan and English. You people have so much literature, while our own people have so little."

Tofua Press is proud to be the first to publish this
114 Tongan woman's folk tales. True – the early explorers,
beachcombers and missionaries who went to Tonga put some of the exciting folk lore into books and magazines. Ethnologists from the Bernice P. Bishop Museum visited the Kingdom and produced scholarly and voluminous works on Tongan literature. But the majority of these publications are to be found in libraries and museums outside of Tonga and are, for the most part, not available to Tongans in their homes and schools.

Today, the *Pacific Islands Monthly*, in a section called "Mana" edited by Marjorie Crocombe, is publishing the works of modern writers from many islands. Tofua Press wishes to join them in becoming an outlet for creative self-expression and offers *Po Fananga* as its first attempt.

[p. 7-A]

44: Posesi Fanua G,I-5 (no date) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

duction

114 We are fortunate to have an author gifted in both languages. An intelligent, versatile, keen-witted woman,
114 Tupou Posesi brings much to her job as Researcher of the
814 Tonga Traditions Committee. At the Palace Office where she works, she greets newcomers who come with impossible requests; anthropologists are always at her door. When a movie maker from England sent camera men to the islands to take pictures of dancing, *tapa* making and the like, Tupou made arrangements for them; when an archival bureau in Fiji wanted sections of an early Tongan newspaper translated in three weeks, Tupou handled it; when the University of the South Pacific Centre at Nuku'alofa needed someone to lecture on Tongan family customs, Tupou was called upon – and her spontaneous performance was enthralling.

Then when we were in Tonga in late 1973 asking Tupou's advice and assistance in obtaining photographs for *Tonga Pictorial,* she told us, "Next year I am going to New Zealand. I am going to work with Garth Rogers in the Anthropology Department at the University of Auckland, translating and taping some of my research work."

128 "But Tupou, when are you going to write that book you promised us?" we asked.

"I'll send you a manuscript," she replied.

[p. 7-B]

128 Then came the happy surprise. After a long silence from Auckland, she began sending us parts of *Po Fananga* – and we were delighted.

"You are to please yourself," she wrote, "how you place these stories and edit them . . . The translation, as I have said, is rough, but it was intentionally meant to be so. A literal translation would be a bit dry for the appetites of the English-speaking reader."

Back in Tonga later, Tupou sent us this note: "Just a few lines to let you know that the rest of *Po Fananga* will be coming in a few days. I am also enclosing a creation of mine which is called "Rainbow and her Daughter." And so we have eleven traditional Tongan folk tales, plus one of Tupou's own.

128 Thus, Tofua Press received *Po Fananga.* We were lucky
114 enough to have Nick Rott, who has his Master's Degree in
Fine Arts, to do the illustrations for this book. Having
lived and taught in Tonga, Nick and his wife, Gerry, had
been special fans at Tupou's fascinating story-telling
114 sessions. And Tupou is a born story-teller. She knows a
538 tale behind any person or place that comes into the conversation, and her eyes twinkle with merriment as she tells it.

114 In one of her tales, you will read about a handsome
youth who knew the location of his island in the dark by
[502] the mere feel of the ocean from the boat. Tupou has, in
her family line a number of generations removed, the

114 famous blind navigator, Kahomovailahi (whose nickname
[502] Fāfākongatahi means to touch the water), who could, it
was said, determine the location of his boat by simply
[814] putting his hand into the water. Tupou's father, Sione
Fa'iloakitau Kaho was one of the great researchers of his
time and was in touch with much lore, as he was the direct
descendant of 'Ana, the daughter of a famous Tu'ivakanō,
noble of Nukunuku.

In the Ha'apai group, the island of 'Uiha where dwelt the woman from Felemea who loved the sun in one of the folk tales, is the island which Tupou claims for her family. Her mother, Salote Katokakala, was the cousin of Malupō, the chief of 'Uiha, and her family came from the line of Niukapu, one of the thirty-three nobles of Tonga.

Tupou is married to Dr. Posesi Fanua, who has retired from the Medical Department of Tonga. They have seven daughters and one son. "All the girls are working for the government," she writes," two in the Medical Department, one in the Lands Department, one as Secretary at the University Centre, one is married in Australia, one is a commercial teacher besides running the well-known Beach House at Nuku'alofa, and one works at the Education Department; our only son is a farmer."

At present," she adds, "I've got sixteen grandchildren."
000 Not long ago, we each had thirteen. But I do not have the
stories which she has to tell to her grandchildren. Mine are
the losers; they have television.

[p.8-B]

Helen Raitt

426
423 are not reluctant to ask for help from their *famili;* one may *kole* (ask)
621 foods, money, land use for cultivating or housing, and so forth. And one
who is asked for something by one's *famili* would not refuse it. In case
612 they borrow a portion of *api tukuhau* of their *famili,* they can usually
[241] plant and harvest any crop they like. The only exception is that the
[245] borrower has no right to get the coconuts from trees already planted. The
[434] coconuts are the chief source of the cash income for the villagers. When
[427] I asked them "What do you pay for the use of the land?" a common
answer to this question is that he (she) is my *famili,* which suggests their
idea that they do not have to pay to their *famili.*

Prohibition of Marriage

612 Marriage prohibition extends bilaterally towards the farthest relation-
582 ship. If two persons recognise themselves as belonging to the same *famili,* even if their actual relationship may not be traceable, they must not marry. A man and woman in the same generation in the same *famili* stand as brother and sister; the former should respect and protect the
588 latter. But in a different village, I know of a couple consisting of a man and his father's (classificatory?) sister's son's daughter. The story about their marriage is as follows. They had lived in the same village and the boy fell in love with her. Every time he came to see the girl, her parents suspecting their immoral love, sent him away. But one day they ran away to Nuku'alofa to get married. After they came back, the bridegroom and his father visited his wife's parents, taking with them food which had been cooked in an *umu.* Then on the evening of the same day, her mother brought bark cloth and mats to their house for the bridal bed. Now, they are apparently not blamed either by their parents or by the villagers because of the run-away marriage, and her mother was not ashamed to tell me the story. Anyway this remains an exceptional case.

612 *Famili* functions in a field of co-operation and marriage and prohibition. On the other hand a *famili* organisation does not necessarily operate at all since the group for co-operation need not extend beyond the household. A person needing another's help, may ask the members
[571] of his *famili* individually. In short, in the Tongan way, more emphasis is put on the interpersonal, individual relationship than on the group relationship. The next chapters will report the kinship behaviour centring upon the relationship between individuals.

V THE INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP

Kinship Terminology

601 The terminology of Tongan kinship system has already been precisely
114 described by Gifford, I will touch on some variations from his statement. He wrote about *tamai* that all male and female relatives of the father and in his generation are said to be called fathers.(15) But so far as I could know, this usage of *tamai* is not so extensive today. It includes the father and the father's brothers in classificatory sense, but not female relations of the father. In the same way, I am not certain if *fa'e* includes

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15. Gifford 1929: 28.

male relatives of the mother and in her generation or not. When the 601 father's brothers or mother's sisters are indicated separately from the true father or mother, a descriptive term such as *tokoua o'e tamai* or 114 *tokoua o'e fa'e* is used. The word for mother's brother, *tuasina* described by Gifford[16] and Koch [17] was not obtained, and I think *fa'e tangata* must be much more popular than *tuasina* today. Also in daily conversation the term *tokoua* for the siblings of the same sex is widely used, instead of *taokete* or *tehina*.

As a term for a spouse, *unoho, ohoana* and *hoa* by Gifford are com- 601 pletely replaced by the English term *mali*. For a man, his wife, his wife's [192] sister and his brother's wife are all denoted by the term *mali*, and for a woman, her husband, her husband's brother and her sister's husband are her *mali*. The complementary term to *mali* is *matapule* which indicates four kinds of relation; for a man, his sister's husband, his wife's brother, and for a woman, her brother's wife and her husband's sister. A woman's brother's wife and man's wife's brother are grouped by Gifford under the name of *mo'a,*[18] a term which I could not elicit. Gifford 601 thinks that *matapule* is an honorary term which applies only to the higher 554 rank of man's sister's husband and woman's husband's sister, but it is used reciprocally regardless of rank or status.

He mentions that the father's sister's husband is also called *tangata eiki*, chiefly man.[19] But *tangata eiki* is an honorary term to be extended not only to the father's sister's husband, but also to the father and to a man not related. For example, when one indicates "your father" or "your husband," it is used as a pure honorific expression, not a kinship term.

There are no special terms of address at all. Even by their own 601 small children people are addressed by their own personal names.

The Norm of Kinship Behaviour

As already pointed out by a number of writers, kinship behaviour is 602 precisely defined according to the rank of an individual within a network 554 of kinship. The norm the villagers think they should observe today is variously defined in accordance with the relationship involved.

Parents and Children

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Father and children: It is *tapu* for both sons and daughters to touch 784 the father's head, to use his clothes, bed, combs and to eat the food he 602 does not finish eating. Upon his death, they cannot stay inside a house [264] where the corpse is laid. The attitude towards the father's brother is the [764] same as towards the father. The head of a nuclear family is the father [604] who is responsible for the management of the household affairs. When [592] sons and daughters want to marry, they should consult their father, and [584] if he forbids the marriage, the only way to effect their purpose is to elope.

Mother and children: There is no *tapu* towards the mother. Either sons or daughters may use their mother's or sister's bed, clothes and combs.

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[16] Gifford 28.
[17] Koch 1955: 71.
[18] Gifford 1929 :28.
[19] Gifford 28.

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764 The next morning, they take off the white cloth and *feta'u*, and wrap the corpse again with bark cloth of *launima*, named *kumifonua*. Further, they wrap it with all the mats and bark cloths they can afford and all the gifts the callers have given. When a coffin is not used, the corpse is wrapped with *kumifonua*, is put on a ladder shaped frame, (*fata*), and is then carried by men, six or eight consisting of distant relatives, to the graveyard. If the dead person is a man, a *fata* can not be carried by his younger brother and children, and if a woman, her brother can not touch it. Close relations would also not carry it. While others sing hymns, neighbours, friends and remote relations dig the grave and carry up white sand from the beach. When the funeral reaches the graveyard, the priest gives an oration. Then the coffin is lowered into the grave by remote male relations. The grave is filled with sand by those present. After burial, the *ulu i famili* makes a brief speech, expressing his thanks to the people at the cemetery and informing them of the feast if one is held.[24] For the funeral feast, *pulua, fa'e tangata* and the sons of the deceased make enough *umu* to distribute one basket of food to each attendant.
[276] Usually the last basket is presented to the *matapule*. Sometimes *pulua*
[574] is held on the same or sometimes on the following day of the funeral, when *kava* drinking is occasionally arranged.

765 [302] Years ago, *liongi* cut their hair to show their grief and even now they do not dare to comb their hair for the same reason.[25] The family and close relations sit by the beautifully decorated grave for at least ten
[784] days. By this time, the *tapu* between brother and sister will be lifted,
[593] and the sister may tend the grave of her brother. Relations and villagers
[602] wear a big ragged mat for mourning, called *taovala putu* for ten days, but
[292] the family members of the deceased wearing it for nearly one year. For these ten days, enjoying movies or beating bark cloth are not allowed for the whole village. At the end of this period merry-making may be held and the relatives from a distance return to their home village .

VIII — Some Concluding Observations on Ramification and Stratification

121 In the previous chapters, I have tried to describe the organisation and behaviour of kinship found in a Tongan village today. As I mentioned at the outset of this paper, I do not intend to analyse it theoretically, but to depict it as descriptively as possible. My reason for choosing the latter approach is mainly because there is a scarcity of information.
114 'Tongan Society', by E. W. Gifford, which is quoted in many papers, is of course an excellent study, but there are some descriptions in his book that we are unable to find in a Tongan village today. I suppose this is because he collected his data mainly from the noble class, and also it is thirty years since his field survey.

613 114 565 The most important difference, it appears to me, is in regard to *ha'a*. I have been unable to find it in Nukuleka village. Referring to commoners, Gifford pointed out that "Some commoners are not aware

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[24] According to Beaglehole *ha'a tufunga*, undertaker, presides over everything in the graveyard. But the villagers say that *ha'a tufunga* will be employed only in case of the chief's death.

[25] Koch 1955: 84.

of their lineage as such, but most are, and claim relationship to some chief, 613
usually the one under whom they live."(26) When he was told by another 114
informant that the term would apply to the family of a chief, but not to 565
that of a *matapule* or commoner, he interpreted this as meaning that today
only chiefs are heads of *ha'a*. But the Beagleholes, who made a
research at Pangai in Vava'u about ten years later, made a brief note that
none of the Pangai commoners: "know their lineage, none of who would
dare to claim relationship to the lineage of the royal family."(27) This
is the case not only in Nukuleka, but also in Longoteme, *tofia* (noble
estate) held by Noble Vekune.

Kinship organisations observed in Nukuleka are *famili* and groups of 612
nuclear families centring on the *ulu i famili* which I have named *famili
organisation* for the convenience of description. *Famili* can be best
described as personal kindred because it includes all the persons both
maternally and paternally with ego's wife. *Famili* members should cooperate [582]
with each other, and should not marry no matter how distant
their relationship is, but in actuality union may be permitted if the
relationship between them is very distant.

On the other hand, several features of *famili* organisation may be
summarised as follows: One belongs to the *ulu i famili* through the
father, but matrilineal belonging is also permissible in special circumstances.
The *famili* is not localised. It is very flexible, being easy to split.
So, the members of *famili* organisation are confined generally to a few
generations. It has neither group name nor group consciousness and
does not function as a corporate group. Its organisational bonds exist
between one *ulu i famili* and the individual nuclear families that belong
to him, but the recognition of who is one's *ulu i famili* is ambiguous. The
process of *famili* fission is not one of ramification which may accompany
the internal stratification.

Judging from these features, a *famili* organisation may be called a 612
very fragile, minimal patri-lineage of smaller size. Comparing with *ha'a*, 613
is seems that *ha'a* is of more stable character than *famili* organisation,
although the group consciousness and actual functions of *ha'a* is not clear
from the description by Gifford that "they claim relationship to some
chief, usually the one under whom they live." But the important difference
between them is that *ha'a* has a ramified system in the process of segmentation.
He wrote that "the whole system of lineages may be likened to a
tree with trunk, limbs, branches, and twigs,"(28) which is not the case of
famili organisation at all. And much less, an internal stratified system as 612
the result of ramification (ramage type according to M. Sahlins(29) can 621
not be possibly found in this village. Supposing the ramage type to exist 554
here in this village, all the villagers should be integrated into a triangle of
hierarchy, the top of which is occupied by Leka. Actually Leka is in the [622]
highest rank of the villagers but except for his position it does not seem [621]
that people are internally stratified. The principle that every one is 554
ranked by seniority, that means every brother (as well as every sister) is 621

26. Gifford 1929: 30.
27. Beaglehole 1941: 71.
28. Gifford 1929: 30.
29. Sahlins 1958: 139-80.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

PREFACE

The research on which this dissertation is based was 101 conducted on the Polynesian island of Tongatapu, the main island of the Kingdom of Tonga. My interest in Tonga was 121 first stimulated in 1967 when I came across repeated references to the effect that in Tonga adaptations to social and cultural change have been particularly harmonious. The following is a typical statement:

> The Kingdom of Tonga is a democracy adapted to meet Tongan present-day needs and old-established customs. The shoe is well-cut and, if new in parts, it does not pinch painfully (MacQuarrie 1955: 191).

At the same time, I found that there was little solid 114 information available on Tonga, and even less in the way of sociological reporting. To this day, the only book on village life in 20th-century Tonga is a short monograph by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole (1941), based on a two-month field study conducted a few months before the outbreak of World War II. In the preface to the monograph, they make the following statement:

> Despite years of contact with an invading western 114
> European culture, village culture has adapted itself 177
> with very considerable success to the strains and tensions thus engendered. There has been adaptation but not extinction, a new and distinctive cultural blend but not destruction, not disintegration of either personal or social life (1941: 4).

The Beagleholes seemed to confirm what the other writers said. However, I noted that they spoke of a situation observed more than a generation ago. Further reading suggested to me that, whatever the conditions of village life then, they might be very different today. This was based primarily on broad statistical data, especially those relating to population growth. Another set of data also seemed to me to be relevant to the likelihood of change in Tonga, data relating to the post-war expansion of education. These data suggested that a study of adaptations to change in Tongan society might profitably be focused on an enquiry into the role of education in contemporary Tonga. Such an enquiry would also yield comparative data on one of the major social issues in developing countries, namely, the extent of congruity between the aspirations of the young people and the range of alternatives available to them. This issue could be particularly critical in Tonga, given the limitations of the Tongan economy and the fact of increasing population. 114 121

These, then, are the major questions I took with me in going to the field. As it turned out, while I was able to do some research into young people's aspirations and did investigate the question of access to education, my enquiry into other aspects of education did not go much 114 121 beyond that. Within a few days of my arrival in the Kingdom, I learned that a two-volume dissertation on the relationship between education and socio-economic development in Tonga had been completed just two years earlier (Kavaliku 1967). The author was the Honourable Langi Kavaliku, who was serving as Minister without Portfolio at the time I arrived in Tonga and appointed Minister of Education a few weeks later (the first Tongan commoner to serve in that position). Dr. Kavaliku was most gracious and encouraging in welcoming my research. Nevertheless, after reading his dissertation, I felt I would have to redefine my project if I was not to spend much of my time duplicating what he had done. I thought at that point that I might focus on young people's aspirations and collect data that could be compared with findings from other countries. 114 121

My original research design called for me to start with the educational system and trace how it related to other features of the society. Accordingly, I had proposed to locate myself at one of the secondary schools and work outwards through contacts made with students at the school. Since virtually all the major secondary schools in the country were located on the island of Tongatapu, most of them in and around Nuku'alofa, the capital town, it seemed clear to me that I should be based in Nuku'alofa. 873 101

By the end of my first week in Tonga I had obtained permission from the government and the school authorities to conduct my research at the only government school that prepares students for university entrance (one of four such schools in the country), and I began a routine of daily visits to the school. By the end of the second week, I was beginning to see that there was too much that I would not comprehend that way. A petty matter that forced me to recognize this was that I could not understand the system of family names and hence could make little sense of the school records. It occured to me that if I had this problem with names I was bound to encounter much more of anga faka-Tonga ('Tongan custom') whose meaning would elude me, especially as I did not speak Tongan. The following is an extract from a field report written five weeks after my arrival in Tonga: 114 121

> Given what I have learned after a profitable month at the center of things, my best bet now is to head for the villages. Until I have learned more about Tonga, I doubt that it would be productive to be in town, where it is too much of a struggle for me at present to avoid being confined to association only with people of high status.
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> As you know, before I came here, I had considered the possibility of studying a particular high school. That no longer seems a good idea. Students scatter after school hours, too widely for me to be able to keep track of them, at least given my present social ignorance. It seems to me that it would be better to use a local community as a focus and work outwards from there, encompassing the schools in one direction among others, rather than using the school as a center.

Thus, in the second month of my fieldwork, I moved from

the capital to live in a village. The village that was 114
chosen was close enough for me to have easy access to the 121
secondary schools and centers of government and administration in Nuku'alofa, but sufficiently removed that I was forced to learn the Tongan language and was in a much better position to learn *anga faka-Tonga*.

The move to the village in itself necessitated a shift in the focus of my research, from an emphasis on the system of education to consideration of the wider context of the system. Beyond that, however, the more I learned about village life the more firmly I came to the conclusion that, to understand the context of education in Tonga, one
must begin with elements of local organization. The reason 554
is that access to land and other resources are limiting 423
factors in whatever life strategy a person might adopt and 871
may critically affect possibilities of access to education.

In studying the question of access to resources, I found myself moving further and further from my original topic, away from an enquiry into the role of education in contemporary Tonga towards a study of the kinds of alternatives available to ordinary people in Tongan society. Thus my research became focused on the organization of Tongan society at the local level. Enquiry into the role of education in social change would have had to include an investigation of the relationship between education and government, on the one hand, and the system of stratification on the other. 114 121 For reasons set out in Chapters I and VI, these are topics that cannot be adequately dealt with in the context of a study of village Tonga. To pursue these topics, therefore, I would have had to set aside my village study and return to Nuku'alofa. This seemed to me not to be advisable, not only because I would have had to trace my own way over some of the ground covered by Langi Kavaliku just a few years previously, but also because by then my fieldwork in the village was well under way and I was most reluctant to abandon it. Thus I continued with my village research.

Something should be said regarding the selection of the village chosen as my fieldbase. There were five villages which suited the requirement of being large enough to promise a diverse population and sufficiently removed yet within easy access of Nuku'alofa. One of the 114 121 122 people with whom I discussed the question of which village would be the most suitable offered to help me find a place in one of them, Motulahi (a fictitious name), the village in which he lived. At first I was hesitant about accepting the offer, for he was a government official and I was concerned about possible implications of being thought to be associated with the government. However, it was necessary for me to have someone who would provide me with sponsorship, wherever I lived, since land is not freely 114 121 122 available in Tonga. There seemed little point in avoiding being associated with someone merely because he was a government official, particularly since I would be associated with the government, anyway, through my research in education. I therefore accepted his gracious offer, but declined the further invitation extended both by him and his wife that I live as a member of their household. Instead, we agreed that I would live in a fale (a 9 x 16 [342] foot coconut-thatched 'house') that I would have built for me on land at the back of their house. I would do my own cooking in my fale, but had free access to their house and use of the indoor plumbing facilities there. While the fale was being built and outfitted, a matter of a few weeks, I lived in a boarding house in Nuku'alofa and commuted daily to Motulahi. I moved in to my fale in 114 mid-September and that was my base for the next eight months, until I left Tonga. In all, I was in Tonga for [101] ten months, from mid-July 1969 through mid-May 1970. During this period I made two trips of a few days each in Tongan waters and spent two weeks in Fiji. Except for [101] these three side-trips, my research was conducted on Tongatapu.

After I came to live in Motulahi my field methods 123 were based on participating as much as I was able in the formal bestowal of a Tongan name, feeling that this might associate me in ways I could not foresee with whichever chief would confer the name upon me. And it was only over a period of some time that I came to participate in quasi-kinship relationships with people in the village. As much as possible, I tried to avoid being identified exclusively with particular sections or groups. Thus at first I attended church services in each of the local congregations in turn. Eventually, I settled into a pattern of attending four of them in rotation, explaining that the denomination to which I belonged at home did not have a church in Tonga. I also participated in quasi-kinship relationships with members of four different kin-groups (_fāmili_) in the village, and thereby gained some experience of the activities and obligations of kin-group membership without being solely affiliated with a particular group. 123

My participation in local activities was to some extent shaped by my sex (female), age (twenty-seven), and marital status (single). For example, it would not have been proper for me to accompany the men in their agricultural activities without other women being present, and I never did so (although from time to time I went to the bush together with other women). This meant that some aspects of this major sphere of village life were beyond my investigation. I also felt that there was some [114]

options available to ordinary Tongans include the 181
possibility of switching denominational affiliation, 571
changing household membership, shifting kin-group
affiliation, moving to a different village, and varying
the extent of participation in various local activities.
With regard to all these elements, Tongans perceive their [829]
society as one in which there are few prescriptions or
prohibitions, where people have alternatives in ordering
their lives, and where individuals have considerable
autonomy in exercising their options. My analysis of 121
these materials is concerned in part with identifying
some of the circumstances that lead a person to select
one alternative rather than another.

Previous Anthropological Research in Tonga 114

Despite the many anthropologists who have worked in the Tonga Islands, none has published more than a few paragraphs dealing with local organization. One cannot be sure whether the absence of a satisfactory account of local organization in Tonga is not merely because no-one has attempted to provide it. Nevertheless, the absence of such an account is curious in view of the number of anthropologists who have worked in Tonga.

The first and most eminent of these anthropologists is A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, who spent a few years in Tonga as an expatriate officer of government in the period between his researches in Australia and his work in South Africa. Despite his fairly lengthy sojourn in the Tonga Islands, the only reference to Tonga in Radcliffe-Brown's published writings is by way of comparison in the course of his famous article on "The Mother's Brother in South Africa" (1924). Not long after his departure, the Bishop Museum sponsored the Bayard Dominick Expedition to Tonga, and Edward W. Gifford was among the expedition members.[1] Gifford was in Tonga for nine months in 1920-21 and wrote Tongan Society (1929), the single most comprehensive account of Tongan social organization available to this day. However, except for a few pages relating to census data, there is little in Tongan Society that is concerned specifically with local organization. Instead, the monograph deals mainly with culture history and with ethnohistorical materials relating to the Tongan aristocracy. Following Gifford, Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole were the next anthropologists to conduct research in the Tonga Islands. The Beagleholes spent two months in Tonga during the summer of 1938-39, of which seven weeks were spent in the village of Pangai. Their object in writing their monograph Pangai: Village in Tonga was to "[put] on record something of the life of the villager-commoner in a socially stratified society" (1941: 3). The monograph, although sketchy, is fairly comprehensive in its description of rural activities, but again there is almost no discussion of local organization per se.

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[1] Gifford is better known for his later research among California Indians.

Since World War II and up to the time when I began my own fieldwork in 1969, a number of other social and cultural anthropologists have conducted research in Tonga, including Machiko Aoyagi, Elizabeth Bott, Dorothy Crozier, Adrienne Kaeppler, Gert Koch, Rusiate Nayacakalou, Garth Rogers, and James Spillius. Since the time of my fieldwork, the anthropologists who have conducted research in the Tonga Islands include Louise Bernstein, Nicholas Blatchley, George Marcus, Keith Morton, Garth Rogers, and Charles Urbanowicz. None of these anthropologists has provided an extensive account of local organization, although Aoyagi, Marcus, and Nayacakalou have published articles focusing on elements of social organization at the local level (Aoyagi 1966, Marcus 1974, Nayacakalou 1959). Most notable among the anthropologists who have worked in Tonga in the post-war period is the husband-and-wife team of Spillius and Bott,[2] who spent more than two years in Tonga as part

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[2] Spillius had previously accompanied Firth in his restudy of Tikopia, and Bott is well known for her book Family and Social Network (1957).

of a WHO environmental sanitation project (1958-60). 114
However, neither of them conducted extensive research among
Tongan villagers, and the only publication to have resulted
from their sojourn in Tonga is Bott's masterful essay on
"The Significance of Kava in Tongan Myth and Ritual" (1972).
Besides myself, only Aoyagi, Blatchley and Rogers have
conducted extensive research on social organization at the
local level among Tongan villagers. Rogers was in the
field at approximately the same time as I was, but has not
yet published anything on local organization in Tonga;
Blatchley is still in the field. In summary, despite the
many anthropologists who have worked in the Tonga Islands,
there is no satisfactory account of social organization at
the local level.

The ethnographic materials presented in this 121
dissertation are concerned with the organization of village
life in Tonga. While the extra-local context of village
life is indicated in Chapters II and VI, this is dealt with
only to the extent that is necessary for understanding
certain elements of local organization. To understand the
national level of organization, one would have to go beyond
a village study, for the national level in Tonga is not
simply the local level writ large. I am not alone in 121
pointing this out. In discussing Aoyagi's paper on "Kinship 114
621
Organization and Behavior in a Contemporary Tongan Village" 613

(1966), Kaeppler makes the following comment: 121

> Her failure to elicit information on ha'a is not 114
> because they do not exist, but because she asked the
> wrong people about them. . . . Aoyagi seems to imply 621
> that village structure is, or should be, a microcosm 613
> of the societal structure. In Tonga, at least, this
> is not the case. Ha'a are part of the societal
> structure and have little to do with villages. . . .
> can only be conceptualized in terms of the whole
> society and would make no sense at all in terms of
> a single village (1971: 138-139).

While village structure in Tonga is not a microcosm 621
of the societal structure, the converse is also true; that
is, the organization of life at the local level cannot be
inferred simply from an account of the societal system.
Despite this, published accounts that focus on village life 114
in Tonga amount to only two monographs and seven articles
(not counting articles by me, presenting materials that are
dealt with in this dissertation). The most wide-ranging
account is given in the short monograph by Ernest and Pearl
Beaglehole (1941). The other monograph (Koch 1955) is a
diffusion study concerned mainly with examination of the
adoption of new technology. The articles deal with land
tenure (Aoyagi 1964, Maude 1971, Nayacakalou 1959), a
geographer's description of the look of Tongan villages
(Kennedy 1958), adoption practices among commoners (Morton
1977), and the organization of commoner kin groups (Aoyagi
1966, Marcus 1974).

Research at the national level, although more extensive than that dealing with the local level, has also

114 been limited in scope. There is a considerable body of work by a number of population geographers--McArthur, Maude, and Walsh--and two excellent historical studies of relations between church and state in Tonga in the nineteenth century (Lātūkefu 1974, Rutherford 1971). Besides this, published accounts dealing with the national level of organization in Tonga have been concerned mainly with presenting analyses of the upper levels of the system of stratification and/or accounts of chiefly activities (Bott 1972, Collocott 1924, 1927, Gifford 1929, Goldman 1970, Kaeppler 1971, Sahlins 1958, Urbanowicz 1973, 1975).[3] Coult's paper (1959), based on published materials, and, more recently, Marcus's work (1975a, 1975b, 1976) are notable exceptions, in that they deal not only with the aristocracy but also with relations between the aristocracy and people at the lower levels of the system of stratification.

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565 A focus on the aristocracy is fairly common among specialists in Polynesian ethnology. Since the degree of stratification in aboriginal Tonga was second in Polynesia only to aboriginal Hawaii, interest in the Tongan aristo-

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[3] In recent years there have been a number of dissertations from outside anthropology dealing with other aspects of the national level of organization (Bollard 1974, Kavaliku 1967, Sevele 1973). However, the results of this research have not yet been published.

cracy is understandable. However, accounts of Tongan society at the national level have tended to treat the non-elite simply as followers. This is manifest in most accounts of the traditional system of stratification, and is also evident in the following statement by Spillius about the contemporary political system: 114 565

> Since Tonga has a centralized form of government, I considered it essential to study the structure of Government and the system of rank first, especially in view of the fact that in the fields of authority and rank, the rest of the population orients itself to the activities of Government officials and persons of high rank (1959b: 3).

Given that the national level is not the local level writ large, a study of the national level does not necessarily call for enquiry into the lives of ordinary Tongans. However, dismissal of the non-elite is at least partly due also to the fact that the folk history of Tonga is couched mainly in terms of the political and genealogical connections among the chiefs (Collocott 1924, Lātūkefu 1968, Marcus 1975b, Wood 1932). Since it is the people of the chiefly class who have the best knowledge of these matters, their view of the non-elite as followers and of little account is transmitted as part of the oral tradition. The predominantly aristocratic perspective in oral tradition may account for the fact that many foreigners, including anthropologists, seem to have fallen into an attitude that echoes the thinking of some of the Tongan elites; namely, 114 173 565 114 173 565 829

114 173 565 829 that the aristocracy is the repository of that which is truly Tongan. I have characterized this attitude elsewhere (1974, 1976) as 'the noble view of Tongan society'. The attitude is implicit throughout Gifford's Tongan Society (1929), but it is also reflected in the work of Spillius, Bott, Kaeppler, and Urbanowicz, anthropologists who have conducted fieldwork much more recently than Gifford. The attitude is explicit in the following statement by Spillius:

> The common error made in earlier anthropological studies of Tonga has been for the anthropologist to go out to outlying villages and islands too soon, under the impression that the more remote the village, the more chance the anthropologist would have to meet the "real people", and the more traditional customs he would find. Such romantic notions can be very misleading in a society like Tonga. In Tonga, knowledge of customs and understanding of the social and political structure has always been the prerogative and the duty of the men and women of rank. Traditionally, commoners were not supposed to know about genealogies or the reasons for political decisions, and to a considerable extent this holds good today (1959b: 3).

114 565 This attitude carries an important implication for anthropologists and for Tongans, an implication that should not go unchallenged. The implication is that there is little of ethnological interest to be learned from ordinary Tongans, and that the political activities and genealogical manipulations of the vast majority of Tongans are somehow not "really Tongan". And even if it were argued that this implication is not conveyed, the fact remains that little has been written about the lives and concerns of Tongan villagers.

Preconceptions and Recalcitrant Data

The problem in providing an account of local organization in Tonga is to make sense of the seeming formlessness and flux of Tongan society. The difficulty of this is compounded by certain preconceptions that may be brought to the Tongan data. 121

The first of these preconceptions arises from previous work on Tonga. Much of what has been published relates primarily to the upper levels of Tongan society and is based on data collected mainly from people of high rank, although it is not always identified as such. As a result, anthropologists working among Tongan villagers have been confronted with apparently anomalous data, anomalous in that they do not accord with earlier accounts of social organization in Tonga. Two examples of this are given in Aoyagi's paper on kinship organization in a contemporary village: 114 121

> Tongan Society, by E. W. Gifford, which is quoted in many papers, is of course an excellent study, but there are some descriptions in his book that we are unable to find in a Tongan village today. . . . The most important difference, it seems to me, is in regard to ha'a [a descent-based grouping]. I have been unable to find it in Nukuleka village. Referring to commoners, Gifford pointed out that "Some commoners are not aware of their lineage as such, but most are, and claim relationship to some chief, usually the one under whom they live." . . . But the Beagleholes, who made a research at Pangai in Vava'u about ten years later, made a brief note that none of the Pangai commoners: "know their lineage, none of whom would dare to claim relationship to the lineage of the royal family." This is the case not only in Nukuleka, but also in Longoteme [another village].

> . . . And much less, an internal stratified system
> as the result of ramification (ramage type according to 114
> M. Sahlins) can not possibly be found in this village. 121
> Supposing the ramage type to exist here in this village, all the villagers should be integrated into a triangle of hierarchy, the top of which is occupied by [the chief] Leka. Actually, Leka is in the highest rank of the villagers but except for his position it does not seem that people are internally stratified. The principle that every one is ranked by seniority . . . does not exist in fact in the village (1966: 172-174).

Similarly, Marcus notes:

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> Conditions in the modern kingdom of Tonga . . . depart
> in some ways from the view which posits the permeation 565
> of both inter- and intra-class interactions with concerns for status differentiation in terms of a given ideology of rank. . . . I had expected the organization of casual groups within the village, especially the organization of work groups, to be governed by principles of status differentiation, borrowed conceptually from the principles that govern interactions within Tongan kin groups and between social classes, but I did not find this connection (1975a: 35).

Clearly, one cannot generalize from the upper stratum of 565
Tongan society to the entire social system. The fact is [121]
that the lives and concerns of Tongan villagers are not simply a lesser version of the concerns of people of the upper strata, and the organization of life at the local level cannot be inferred from accounts of the societal system.

Another preconception that may be brought to the 121
Tongan data, one which is common in anthropology, has been characterized by Pelto and Pelto (1975) as 'resistance to heterogeneity'. They note that "observations concerning intra-community diversities seem to be set aside quickly,

182 621 on a government estate or a noble's estate (and, if it is a noble's estate, whether the noble is resident in the village), what schools are available, what modes of transportation are available, and so on.

114 I began to recognize the variety of local conditions in Tonga and the fact of variability from one village to the next within the first month of beginning fieldwork, after taking a week's boat-trip among the islands of Ha'apai. There I had the opportunity to observe a considerable range of ecological and demographic settings, in addition to what I had already seen and learned of the 121 diversity on Tongatapu. As I began to appreciate the variability of Tongan society at the local level, it became clear that I ought to conduct my research in a village that embraced as much as possible of this diversity. The following is an extract from my first report from the field, written five weeks after my arrival in Tonga, setting out the factors that were prompting me to select the village of Motulahi as my research base:

> It seems to me that (a) I should be on Tongatapu, (b) outside Nuku'alofa and its immediate fringing villages, in a village (c) sufficiently close to Nuku'alofa that students at secondary schools would live at home rather than reside with relatives in town, and (d) sufficiently large that there would be more than one school and more than one or two individuals with different bases of power within the same village. . . .
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> 121 621 The place I have chosen is the village of Motulahi, which combines a number of interesting features: (1) the village is only 5-6 miles (15 minutes by bus) outside of Nuku'alofa. A number of persons work in

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

CHAPTER IV

THE HOUSEHOLD LEVEL OF ORGANIZATION

114 The ethnographies of Oceanic societies commonly note that the composition of a household may vary from time to [592] time. This observation is also true for Tonga. The diversity and changeable nature of the composition of household groups in Oceania have received little attention from anthropologists. These phenomena are usually mentioned in the context of studies of the local descent groups that are the typical land-holding groups in Oceania, or treated as secondary aspects of ecological adaptation. 128 A close study of household composition, however, promises to be particularly revealing of elements of decision and choice in the organization of Tongan society at the local level.[1] This chapter analyzes Tongan household structure in terms of a decision-making framework.

121 It will be argued that the observed range of variation in household composition in Motulahi is a reflection of the different ways of satisfying the material and social

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[1] The productiveness of this approach was first demonstrated by Goodenough (1956) and received further exposition in Leach (1961). Also see Buchler and Selby (1968: 49-52).

121 reflects a collectivity-oriented conception of social structure in which the group is logically prior to the individual member. Second, such an approach presupposes a uniformity of group structure that is not found in the Tongan data. Instead of this approach, I propose to follow Goody's advice: "In looking at any concrete situation, one must start with the terminology and classificatory system of the actors themselves, how they describe their kin, their houses, their domestic groupings" (1972: 4).

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596 The Tongan national census distinguishes among Tongan households on the basis of the number of 'family units' in the household:

> The basic family unit consists of a man and his wife and any children they may have, and the general rule to be followed is to separate out the youngest family units within the household first, leaving the Head of the household and his wife and unmarried children (and servants, boarders and visitors) as the one remaining unit. . . . If one member of the household (other than the head) is married and is living with the spouse and any children they may have in the head's house, this family group constitutes one family unit and, provided that the remaining members of the household are unmarried, such a household will consist of two family units. In addition to these, widowed or divorced persons living with their offspring in another's house constitute a family unit. Married persons living without a spouse but with offspring in another's house similarly represent a family unit, and aged parents of either the head or his wife, who are dependent on the head, do not constitute a separate family unit (Fiefia 1968: 32).

According to this definition, households are made up of 'family units', and these consist of 'family groups' plus attached individuals (the servants, boarders, and visitors

592 referred to in the definition who remain after family
659 groups have been separated out). There are some
#114 596 difficulties with the census definition, however. First, the term 'family unit' has no Tongan equivalent and is not a culturally meaningful category. On the other hand, 'family group' is a category in everyday use in Tonga; the term in Tongan is 'fāmili'. But the word "fāmili" has a number of meanings besides the census report's sense of
[612] an elementary or nuclear-family grouping. Another meaning of "fāmili" is the localized kin group consisting of a number of households linked by consanguineal ties, which is discussed in the next chapter. A third meaning is the co-residential kin group on which the household is based, irrespective of the number of family groups that it comprises. Not all members of a household are necessarily members of this third kind of fāmili; some family groups or attached individuals living in the household might be spoken of as "living in/on our 'api but not a member of our fāmili".

Another objection to the definition of 'family unit' given in the national census is that its use of the term 'family group' is not consistent. According to the census definition, a family group is a two-generation elementary or nuclear family (whether or not both parents are present), or one generation if the couple has no children.

592 659 114 596 But this criterion for enumerating family units is set aside at the end of the definition, where it says that "aged parents . . . who are dependent on the head, do not constitute a separate family unit".[2] According to this provision, a household consisting only of a man and a woman and their unmarried children, and another household consisting of this same family group plus the man's aged and dependent parents and the woman's aged and dependent parents and both the man's and the woman's unmarried siblings (i.e., a total of three family groups), would both be counted as single-family-unit households. A possible explanation for this feature of the census definition is that aged parents of the head of the household who live in the household but who are not reckoned to be head of the household would be spoken of as belonging to the head's fāmili. However, the sense of "fāmili" that is used here is not the sense that is [128] captured by the term 'family group'. In what follows, therefore, aged parents of the head of the household are treated analytically as a separate family group if they fit the other elements of the definition.

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[2] Ordinarily, people of the most senior generation in the household are the head of the household. A couple or individual of the most senior generation is/are not the head only if they are too physically infirm, materially dependent, or joined the household too recently to have the authority within the household that goes with being household head.

592 659 114 596 [594] As the preceding objection would suggest, the notion of 'family unit' used in the census does not provide an adequate basis for discriminating among the variety of Tongan households. Not surprisingly, 84 percent of all households in Tonga enumerated in the census of 1966 were single-family-unit households, and only 3 percent had more than two family units.[3] The fact is that there is considerable diversity in the composition of Tongan households that is masked by the census categories, and some problem regarding the proper basis of differentiation.

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[3] There is a further reservation to be noted with regard to the census enumeration of households. The national census figures for 1966 show that there were 118 single-family-unit households in Motulahi out of a total of 150 households (79 percent). This proportion is fairly consistent with the national figure: 84 percent of all Tongan households were single-family-unit households. However, using the census's definition of 'family unit', my census of Motulahi in 1970 showed only 97 single-family-unit households out of a total of 145 households (67 percent). Therefore, unless we assume major changes in the composition of Motulahi households between 1966 and 1970--and there is no evidence to support this assumption --we must conclude that my data are not comparable with the corresponding data in the national census. The most likely explanation for the discrepancy between the two sets of data is that in 1966 some people may have represented their family groups as comprising independent households when in fact they were dependent members of another household. One reason for this might be that they regarded their not being independent as merely a temporary condition and therefore not a truly accurate representation of their household situation. (Such circumstances are not uncommon, as materials presented later in the chapter will show.) Another possible explanation might be that they were loath to admit to being a dependent family unit, owing to status considerations explained later in the chapter. [591]

612 602 From these materials it is clear that an individual has considerable flexibility, not simply in the choice of _fāmili_ affiliation, but in how he aligns himself with other people as well. These alignments bring social and economic benefits that are sustained by reciprocity of obligations. Since an individual's needs and his uses for people change through time, however, he shifts his alignments to accord with his changed circumstances. These adaptations are facilitated by the optative nature of Tongan kin ties and the informal and non-prescriptive quality of the mechanisms of co-operation and assistance at the local level. As we shall see, similar mechanisms are at work with regard to denominational affiliation.

612 114 Before proceeding, something should be said at this point about how other anthropologists have viewed the Tongan _fāmili_. It was first described by Aoyagi in 1966, and since then by me (in a paper presented in 1972, published 1974), by Morton, and by Marcus. Aoyagi (1966: 150-160) uses the terms '_famili_' and '_famili_ organization' to refer to what I have identified as the _kainga_ and _fāmili_, respectively, but her delineation of the nature of these groupings does not differ significantly from that given above. The emphasis in her account of '_famili_ organization' is on the occasions when the _famili_ organization functions as a group. Aoyagi describes the looseness and variability

612 in membership and in members' participation in the activities
114 of the *famili* organization, but she makes little attempt to account for these data. Morton, in his dissertation, gives a brief description of a group that he identifies as the '*matakali*'(1972: 48-51), which I take to be the *fāmili*.[2] Almost no detailed description is given of the structure or organization of the *matakali*, but Morton does note that *matakali* "are defined by residence and consanguinity" and that "*matakali* in contrast to *kainga* is not conceived of as egocentric, has a membership based on residence, and is viable through more than one generation" (1972: 48, 50). Marcus (1974: 90-100, 1975a 45-52, 1975b: 12-15) gives an account of 'the *famili*' that differs in two critical features from these others, in that his focus is on the relations and transactions (a) within a corporate group of adult siblings (b) wherever they might be resident, rather than on a local group of kin. According to Marcus,

> The Tongan *famili* group in the village context alone is not a sufficient unit for analysis of modern Tongan social structure. Rather, in contemporary Tonga, the *famili* is more typically a network of ranked, adult sibling segments and their immediate households, situated in different locations both within Tonga and abroad, and engaging in a variety of occupations. I labelled this dispersed network of continually inter-

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[2] According to Kaude (1971: 127), *matakali* is a word of Fijian origin that is synonymous with *fāmili* in Tongan usage. Also see Gifford (1929: 38-39) and Sahlins (1962).

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> acting sibling segments, a family estate, based on both cooperation and competition over differentially shared resources (including parcels of land, government jobs, and overseas-earned income). There is a great deal of variation in the operation of these _famili_ networks or family estates in their degree of success in accumulating resources, in the degree of corporateness in their organization, and in the degree of their internal stratification.
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> Both noble and commoner family estates, which have been most successful in achieving wealth and status resources in the past generation or two (and perhaps which are most corporate and most highly stratified in internal relations among siblings), are in the present context, patrons to numerous other _famili_ networks, which, for whatever reasons, have not operated effectively as _famili_ estates and have become their clients, dependent on the more successful family estates for material support and favors. . . . I suggest that under present conditions of land shortage and monopolization, at least a sector of Tongan society is organized through the informal patron-clientization of overlapping _famili_ groups, while other _famili_ groups are completely independent of this organization (1975b: 14-15).

The key to resolving the discrepancies between Marcus's account and my treatment of the _fāmili_ is to be found earlier on in his paper:

> In the context of individual acievement and kin cooperation, a fundamental tension that arises in the internal relations of contemporary _famili_ groups concerns the use and distribution of an individual's achieved status and wealth among his kinsmen: does he share his personal advantages in status and wealth as a group resource or does he use it as a personal resource to create ties of dependency and thus improve his position within highly stratified _famili_ relations? (1975b: 13-14).

Marcus's emphasis is on the second alternative, while mine is on the first, and this difference in emphasis stems from our different research interests. His interest is in the elites at the national level, persons of high rank and/or

612 wealth and status, while I am interested in ordinary
114 Tongans and in social organization at the local level. The elites are more likely to be involved in kin groups with a corporate character, and ties between them and with their less successful kinsmen are likely to be supra-local and not dependent on the quotidian interaction that is the sine qua non of the localized fāmili. The fact that Marcus's account of 'the famili' is different from mine reflects the difference in our spheres of investigation, since--as we have seen in relation to the household group--Tongans use the word 'fāmili' to refer to different kinds of groups in different contexts.

Denominational Diversity

602 Relationships of kinship are the primary source of
55 economic benefits and material assistance. For prestige
[621] in the community, however, one must look beyond kinship.
[602] At the national level, status is a function of rank by birth, wealth, occupation and education. These criteria are also significant in the village, but it is the rare villager who derives especially high status from one of
[794] these sources.[3] For most adults in the village, and

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[3] There is no satisfactory account as yet of the system of status at the national level of contemporary Tongan society. Partial analyses are provided by Bott (1972), Kaeppler (1971), Marcus (1975a, 1975b, 1976), and Spillius (1959b), but it remains to be explained how the different elements make up the total system.

out of a total of 145 households in the village of Motulahi[2] on the island [592] of Tongatapu, there were only 47 such households (see Table 1).[3] In [594] other words, less than one-third of the households in the village were made up simply of a married couple and their unmarried children. Of [596] the remaining households, 49 consisted of more than one family unit, some including one or more attached individuals (that is, persons who were not members of one of the family groups living in the household).[4] The other households in the village were variations on the single-family-unit type, including some whose membership included attached individuals (see Table 2), and others that were incomplete family groups (see Table 3). Among the households in Motulahi were single-generation, two-generation, three-generation, and four-generation households (see Table 4). There were households based on family units [596]

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[2] "Motulahi" is a fictitious name for the village in which I was based. [114]

[3] It would have been interesting to compare my data on household structure in Motulahi [114] with similar data from other parts of Tonga. Indeed, there are figures on household structure in the [594] *Report on the Results of the 1966 Census* (Fiefia 1968), but, unfortunately, there is reason to doubt the comparability of these data. The 1966 national census figures showed that there were 118 single-family-unit households in Motulahi out of a total of 155 households (76%), while my 1970 census showed 93 single-family-unit households out of a total of 145 households (64%). My definition of a "family unit" was taken unchanged from that in the report on the national census, and the 1966 figures for Motulahi are fairly consistent with the national figures on household structure (82% single-family-unit households). Therefore, unless we assume major changes in the composition of Motulahi households between 1966 and 1970 (and there is no evidence to support this assumption), we must conclude that my data on household composition are not comparable with corresponding data in the report on the national census. The most likely explanation for the inconsistency is that, in 1966, some people represented their family units as comprising independent single-family-unit households when, in fact, they did not. One reason for this might be that the people regarded their not having independent households as a merely temporary condition and hence not a truly accurate statement of their household situation. [829] Another reason might stem from the fact that Tonga is a highly rank-conscious society, and to admit to being a dependent family [554] unit is an admission of low status.

[4] My definition of "family unit" is derived from the *Report on the Results of the 1966 Census:* [594]

> The basic family unit consists of a man and his wife and any children they may have, and the general rule to be followed is to separate out the youngest family units within the household first, leaving the Head of the household and his wife and unmarried children (and servants, boarders or visitors) as the one remaining unit. . . . If one member of the household (other than the head) is married and is living with the spouse and any children they may have in the head's house, this family group constitutes one family unit and, provided that the remaining members of the household are unmarried, such a household will consist of two family units. . . . Married persons living without a spouse but with offspring in another's house similarly represent a family unit (Fiefia 1968:32).

The census report refers to "servants, boarders and visitors" as being "remaining members of the household" who are not part of a "family group" living in the household. These people comprise my category of "attached individuals." Neither "family unit" nor "attached individual" are named Tongan categories, although both would be readily recognized by Tongans. "Family group" (*famili*) is a named Tongan category (although it is possibly not a native category). The term *famili* [594] has a number of referents, one of which is the sense of a nuclear or elementary family grouping that is expressed in the term "family group" as used in the census report. (For other referents of the term *famili*, see Aoyagi 1966; Decktor Korn 1974). Although the term "household" has no direct equivalent in Tongan, the Tongan word *'api*, meaning a plot of ground devoted to a particular use, is the word that is generally used where we would say "household." The primary meaning of *'api* is the land, but, by extension, it also refers to the commensal group that is located on the land.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 240]

TABLE 4

Generation-span in Motulahi Households

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Type of Household	Generation-span in the Household				Total Households
	One	Two	Three	Four	
Single-person household	1	–	–	–	1
Two-person nonkin household	1	1	–	–	2
Single-family-unit household	3	74	16	–	93
Two family units in the household	–	8	24	–	32
Three family units in the household	–	–	10	5	15
More than three family units in the household	–	–	1	1	2
Total	5	83	51	6	145

592 596 linked by the tie between the family groups of the old parents and their daughter, and others linked by the tie between parents and son, between brother and sister, between sister and sister, and so forth (see Table 5). The membership of these households ranged from one to 26 persons (see Fig. 1).

592 114 121 While in the field, I could make little sense of these data. Norms of intra-family behavior in Tongan society, such as brother-sister avoidance and other patterns of respect, appeared to be irrelevant to understanding the principles of household composition. Similarly, a statistical description of household types failed to reveal clear principles of household structure. The difficulty in trying to make sense of the data was not that clear types did not emerge, but rather that there seemed to be too many types. Furthermore, the model of the developmental cycle of domestic groups did not prove useful in explaining the diversity.

FLUCTUATIONS IN HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

592 In retrospect, it seems to me that as long as I viewed the household as a stable or at least a regular entity, I was looking at Tongan households in the wrong way. Instead, the composition of households in Tonga is probably best understood as the outcome of different ways of fulfilling certain demands on the individuals and family groups who make up the household. The various ways of fulfilling these demands is the major part of the explanation for the diversity of household types. This, it is clear, is a view of household composition which follows Firth's

TONGAN KIN GROUPS: THE NOBLE AND THE COMMON VIEW(1)

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The focus on the upper classes in society, or upon who the political 114 leaders are and what they do, is common among Polynesian specialists. The noble view in anthropology is most notable in the recent book by Goldman(2) which focuses almost exclusively on Polynesian systems of aristocracy. Despite his title, Goldman makes it quite clear in the body of the monograph that his concern and interest are only in the upper ranks. In *Social Stratification in Polynesia*,(3) Sahlins also adopts a noble view. In his analysis of Tongan political organisation, he equates the *ha'a* system [613] of Tonga with the kinship system, something he could not have done if he had moved his gaze from the top of the social hierarchy.(4) Contrasting [565] with these noble views, Beaglehole(5) Aoyagi(6) and Morton(7) make it [61] clear that they are writing about commoners and give relatively little attention to the rank aspects of kinship. Thus, the title of this paper refers not only to Tongans' views, but also to those of anthropologists.

Since the publication of *Social Stratification in Polynesia*, further data about Tongan kinship have become available in a number of articles.(8) It is now quite clear that the *ha'a* is not the only kind of Tongan kin group [613] [61]

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1. The data presented in this paper are based on material collected mainly in Tongatapu. [184] As such, they may be untypical of the situation in areas of Tonga that are less subject to rapid change. Field work in Tongatapu was carried out from July 1969 [101] to May 1970 with the aid of an International Fellowship from the American Association of University Women, whose support is gratefully acknowledged. [122]
   An earlier version of the paper was presented at the ASAO (Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania) Symposium on recent research in Samoa and Tonga at the 70th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Toronto, Canada, December 1972. The paper has benefited from extended discussion with Fred Korn and comments on the earlier version by Sharon Tiffany and Charles Urbanowicz.
2. Goldman 1970.
3. Sahlins 1958.
4. Beaglehole's study of a contemporary village is cited by Sahlins in his bibliography. A reading of Beaglehole in conjunction with Gifford makes it clear that there must have been more to the kinship system than Gifford has to say about it.
5. 1941.
6. 1966.
7. 1972.
8. Aoyagi 1966; Bott 1972; Kaeppler 1971.

114 and that *ha'a* do not operate at the local level in modern Tonga.(9) To
[613] date, kinship in its rank aspects and kinship operating at the local level have
[61] not been dealt with together in one publication, except in passing, and
it is extremely difficult for anyone not acquainted at first hand with the Tongan data either to understand the nature of the Tongan kinship system or to relate the different things various writers have to say about it. Part of the reason for this difficulty is that accounts of observations of contemporary affairs have been mingled with the traditions and history of
121 the past 300 years.(10) This paper, therefore, is concerned mainly with giving an account of the more important kinds of Tongan kin groups as they exist today and differentiating their scope of affairs, referring as much as possible to existing publications.

RANK AND KINSHIP AT THE SOCIETAL LEVEL

613 According to the anthropological literature, there are at least two quite
[612] different kinds of kin grouping in Tonga. One of these is the *ha'a*, which is a descent-based group that has been referred to by one writer as a "societal division"(11) and by most others either as a lineage or as a
612 ramage or status-lineage.(12) The other type of kin-group is a sort of kindred that has variously been identified as the *fa'ahinga* or *famili* or *matakali*.(13) I shall refer to it as the *famili*, which is the term I heard most commonly used.

613 Not everyone in Tonga is affiliated both with a *ha'a* and a *famili*. In
612 Goldman's words, "only the upper ranks can be said to belong to a
565 lineage organisation at all."(14) This does not mean that chief's kin groups are of the *ha'a* type while commoners' are of the *famili* type, for both commoners and chiefs are involved in the *famili* system; nor does it mean that chiefs and commoners are descended from different ancestors and
565 for that reason do not belong to the same descent groups. A commoner is simply "an individual who by virtue of descent through a series of younger brothers has in the course of generations become further and further removed,(15) geneologically speaking, from the chiefly persons
565 with whom he has ancestors in common. Thus, although the boundary between the chiefly class and the commoners is not precise, only persons
613 who are closely associated with high chiefly rank are involved in the *ha'a* system.

Nowadays, there are about 10 main *ha'a*. A *ha'a* is based on a grouping of chiefly titles, each of which is said to have originated with a particular
[554] descendant of a common ancestor. In turn, these originating ancestors were high-tanking kinsmen of the ruling kings of Tonga at various points

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9. Whether the *ha'a* operated at the local level in aboriginal Tonga is still a matter for debate.
10. To the best of my knowledge, Urbanowicz (1972) is the first anthropologist to have insisted that the Tonga of the twentieth century is not a reliable guide to aboriginal Tonga.
11. Kaeppler 1971.
12. Gifford 1929; Sahlins 1958; Goldman 1970; Bott 1972.
13. Gifford 1929; Aoyagi 1966; Kaeppler 1971; Morton 1972.
14. Goldman 1970:242.
15. Gifford 1929:30.

613 that commoners do not belong to *ha'a*, but also—as Morton has expressed
565 it—that "commoners are commoners *because* they are not members of
ha'a."(21)

When the system was first described in detail, by Gifford in 1929,
613 *ha'a* were identified as lineages. In 1959, however, Davenport analysed
565 the structure of non-unilinear descent and pointed out that "the features
that might clearly differentiate the stem kindred from the sept become
612 blurred in some instances, and the Tongan *ha'a* provides an excellent
[611] example."(22) A *ha'a* may be viewed as a sept—that is, a non-unilinear
descent group—so far as the mode of tracing filiation is concerned. However, it is a stem kindred rather than a descent group in that there is
collateral limitation on the range of descendants who are included in the
group, with the branching stem consisting of the lines of titleholders.
613 It is the branching feature of the connection among titles that Sahlins(23)
565 identified in speaking of the *ha'a* as a ramage, a term introduced by
Firth.(24) It was the focus on the validation of rank that led Goldman to
114 identify the *ha'a* as a status lineage;(25) and it was the emphasis on succes-
[612] sion in the male line that led Gifford(26) to speak of the *ha'a* as a pat-
[61] rilineage. In these analyses, the *ha'a* system was either explicitly identified
as being coterminous with the kinship system, or the relationship between
ha'a—as corporate organisations of kin—and the rest of the kinship
system remained unclear.

613 It was left to Kaeppler(27) to point out that *ha'a* must not be identified
565 as comprising the totality of the kinship system. *Ha'a* are part of what
Kaeppler calls the societal structure. They can be understood only if they
114 are viewed as having to do with relative status among people of the highest
61 rank in modern Tongan society.(28) According to Kaeppler, "in order to
554 understand rank within Tongan society, one must conceptually distinguish
social status, governing relationships within a small social group, from
societal ranking, governing relationships within society as a whole".(29)
114 This distinction suggests Fortes' distinction(30) between the jural sphere,
which Kaeppler calls the societal structure, and the domestic sphere,
which Kaeppler identifies as the kinship system or the social structure.
The distinction is extremely useful, although I prefer to refer to the societal
sphere and the domestic sphere and view kinship as one of the frameworks
for reckoning relationships within both spheres.

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21. Morton 1972:52 (emphasis added).
22. Davenport 1959:563.
23. 1958.
24. 1936.
25. Goldman 1970.
26. 1929.
27. 1971.
28. Neither Beaglehole nor Aoyagi attempted to account for the finding that their commoner informants had little or no knowledge of the *ha'a* system, something that Gifford had dealt with only in very ambiguous terms (1929:29-33). Kaeppler explained that it is because *ha'a* are the affairs of chiefs and therefore not known to commoners. Her analysis suggests that the *ha'a* as they are presently constituted existed also in aboriginal times. In my view, this has yet to be proven.
29. Kaeppler 1971:174.
30. Fortes 1958.

613 term assistance of members of a different *famili*. In the case of the *ha‘a*,
612 especially, it is not lightly done—I doubt any person would do it more than
565 once in a lifetime—but it is common enough not to be exceptional.
557 Switching membership fits in with the Tongan idea of *ngāue‘aonga‘aki*
‘ene faingamālie, which can be roughly translated as "make use of the
advantageous situation when it comes your way".

613 The second point of similarity between *ha‘a* and *famili* is that descent—
or rather, filiation—is no more than a necessary condition for an acceptable
612 claim to being a member; it is not sufficient to establish membership.
565 This, of course, is not peculiar to the Tongan situation. The obvious
611 contrast is with unilinear descent groups, and it is a feature common to
many Polynesian kin groups. In the case of these Tongan groups, membership
[171] is activated by the person himself: in the *ha‘a*, by asserting his claim
to a high-ranking connection with a title; in the *famili*, by participating
in the activities of *famili* membership.

CONCLUSION

121 My purpose in this paper has not been simply to describe two kinds of
613 kin group in Tonga, but also to draw attention to the fact that these two
different kin groups tie in with two different areas of social concern, or
612 social fields, for which the tracing of kin ties is relevant in Tongan society.
One of these has to do with establishing the range of people with whom an
individual is involved in co-operation and participation in daily activities.
These are the kin ties that establish the resource groups within the domestic
[554] sphere: ties to household, *kainga*, and *famili*. The other area of concern
in tracing kin ties has to do with establishing and validating claims to
[565] high rank at the societal level.

● 114 On the basis of comparison of the rank aspects of kinship, focusing on
the *ha‘a* in Tonga, Sahlins(35) came to certain conclusions about essential
171 differences between the structures of Tongan and Samoan society at the
local level. These conclusions have become enshrined in the teaching of
Polynesian ethnography. It is hoped that these conclusions will now be
re-examined. While the importance of aristocracy in Polynesia is not
denied, the data presented in this paper show that a noble view is a faulty
basis for generalising about an entire society.

35. 1958.

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50: Pulu I-5 (no date) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

SOME REMARKS ON ALTERNATIVE MEANINGS FOR TONGAN PLACE NAMES

Tupou L. Pulu

Mr. Gifford in his *Tongan Place Names* made the following statement: 103

> Too much faith should not be placed in the meanings of place names listed. The average Tongan appears to give no more thought to the meaning of his place names than we do. If asked what a name means, it is an even chance he will not know. The meanings of almost all place names in this paper were worked out by Tongan scholars, European and native. These meanings have all been studied by the author and modified where it seemed necessary. Nevertheless, some meanings are undoubtedly forced, and, what is more, it sometimes happens that a name is open to more than one interpretation.
>
> Even with these short-comings in mind it is apparent that the meanings of names fall roughly into two great classes, descriptive and commemorative. The former refer to some feature of the locality, the latter to some event, usually trivial enough.(1)

After reading the statements above, one begins to wonder about the accuracy 103 of such a paper. Why did Mr. Gifford bother to collect such data if "too much 114 faith" should not be placed on the meanings? After all, his whole work is nothing more than a list of place names with their literal English meanings and their locations.

A mere listing of names with their English translations is really of little assistance to anyone who may be genuinely interested in comparative work and historical research. Of greater importance would have been the history of the place names, for place names by themselves certainly do not mean much. One has to know the history of the occasions that originated the names in order to appreciate their significance; otherwise, they would seem "trivial." Tongans, as a rule, do not give names to trivial things and events, and this is especially true of place names. Actually the historical background of the Tongan place names provides the etymologies of the words in those names very much like the ancient Hebrew place names, and to a lesser degree like Latin, Greek or French provides etymologies for many an English word.

It is true that the "average" Tongan does not give much thought to the 103 meaning of his place names, but then it has never been his privilege to give names 553 to anything of great importance such as land, boats, buildings, or even his own children. This privilege was reserved for the nobility and the royalty. Furthermore, [565] some names have their origins in myths, tales, and legends, the telling of [538] which was not done by the "average" Tongan.

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1. Gifford 1923:27.

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ALTERNATIVE MEANINGS FOR TONGAN PLACE NAMES

There is little doubt that Mr Gifford's Tongan "scholars" did their best, but
103 the two Tongan men he relied on were chiefs, and chiefs were seldom trusted with
114 chronicles which were often associated with place names. This knowledge was
[565] trusted to spokesmen, and theirs was the task of knowing place names which
[463] perserved for posterity the unwritten historical events that had transpired at
[538] those places. The European Tongan scholars, too, could not have been sufficiently versed in Tongan oral traditions and histories to be able to go beyond a mere literal translation of the meanings of many place names.

103 The stories given later on in this paper will help to illustrate how important it
114 is to know oral traditions if one is to give correct meanings to place names. These
538 stories were well known to the old people of Ha'apai islands but now are known
to only a few. I learned of these stories at the many informal gatherings at my
[123] father's house where I was frequently called to serve kava. I treasured this
delightful task as I could sit inconspicuously behind the kava mixer and listen
[18 to the older people tell tales of former days. And so later, when I saw Gifford's
book and the erroneous meanings he had given to these places, I was shocked
212] and grieved, for the present trend in Tonga is to accept anything in black and white as the absolute truth. Gifford's written words will be the accepted authority in the meanings of Tongan place names, and the true non-recorded meanings of some of these place names will pass on to forgotten history with the death of their tellers.

103 Going hand in hand with Gifford's lack of knowledge of historical events and
114 the deficiencies of the orthography[2] that he used, are the complicating factors of
104 the dynamics of language change at work. This gives some names a different
194 pronunciation from the original, and thus makes a difference in their meaning
unless one knows what they originally referred to.

196 Let us look at how this factor of language change has modified the following two words: /'auhangamea/ and /te'ekiu/ which Gifford listed as:

1. "Auhangamea. Panting to destroy things (auha, destroyed; nga, to pant; mea, things; perhaps referring to the heaving of the billows from the open ocean.) Strait between Tatafu and Uoleva island (H)."[3]
2. "Teekiu. Plover excrement (tee, excrement; kiu, plover Haradrius fulvus). Village on Tongatapu island (T). Also a track on Nomuka island (H). Also a tract near Hihifo, village on Foa island (H)."[4]

A correction to Gifford's spelling of Auhangamea to get its present pronunciation must be made with the addition of the glottal stop before the initial vowel. Gifford listed this word as having three morphemes: (auha + nga + mea) with their respective meanings as listed above. The original pronunciation of this word was /'auha + 'anga + me'a/ containing the morphemes /'auha/ "to suffer destruction" /'anga/ nominalising suffix, and /me'a/ "thing;" this was reduced to /'auhangamea/ by deletion of /'a/ from /'anga/ to form /nga/, and the elimination of /'/ from /me'a/ to form /mea/. The meaning thus formed from this compound word is "the place where things are destroyed, or lost."

[539] This name was not given to the strait because of "the heaving of the billows" as suggested by Gifford, nor was it given to commemorate a "trivial event," but to record orally an important event long forgotten by most except the few story tellers who still remember the legend of Sisimata'ila'aa whose carelessness caused the bag of curses to be opened while the boat of the Tu'i Tonga was crossing it.

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2. In the orthography used by Gifford, there is representation of neither the glottal stop nor the vowel length, both of which are phonemes of high frequency.
3. Gifford 1923:42.
4. Ibid.:218.

This caused the loss of lives and every possession, including the boat. Only one 103
person escaped to tell of the fate that had befallen them. 114

The present pronunciation of number 2 above is /te'ekiu/. We have, again, 104
added the glottal stop which Gifford left out. This is listed by Gifford as having 194
two morphemes: /te'e + kiu/ "excrement + plover." Actually, this originally 196
consisted of two morphemes, too, but cut this way: /te'eki + uu/.[5] The first 539
morpheme, /te'eki/ means "not yet," and /uu/ means "sheltered." This was the way it was meant to be, for it originated with the warriors of Vaha'i when they were digging trenches to hide in during the civil war with Hahake district of Tongatapu during the closing years of the eighteenth century. The commander used to call out to the men, /kuo uu/ "are you sheltered," and the answer kept coming back, /te'eki uu/ "not sheltered yet."

There is a way to find a solution to Gifford's remark that sometimes "a name is 103
open to more than one interpretation." This involves the reviewing of oral 114
traditions as presented and preserved in legends, myths, tales, and poems set to 538
music for dancing. It would seem only logical that one would be forced to retain the interpretation of a name which is well supported by evidence from oral traditions and reject that which seems to have been forced, and really has no leg to stand on.

With this in mind, let us look at some of the following names and their 103
meanings, first, as listed by Gifford, and second, by reviewing their histories. 114

> The following names were associated with the birth of Taufa'ahau, Tonga's 539
> well-known King George Tupou I, originally known as Ngininingini Ofo- 643
> langa:[6]
>
> *Luahoko.* "Sunken reef next another (lua, sunken reef; hoko, next, nearest in place)."[7]
>
> *Luangahu.* "Reef of the ngahu tree (lua, sunken reef; ngahu, a tree)."[8]
>
> *Niuui.* "A kind of coconut (niu, coconut; ui, the name of a one kind of coconut)."[9]
>
> *Ofolanga.* "Erected wonder (ofo, wonder, marvel; langa, to erect)."[10]

The following story is the historical background for the above names as connected with their location at Ha'apai.

Tupouto'a of Ha'apai heard that Houma Fale Ono, the daughter of the chief of Houma in Tongatapu, had been sent by her father to reside with Lavaka at Kahoua.[11] She had been acting strangely and wanted to drink human blood. Tupouto'a, however, knew that she was not possessed by evil spirits as her relatives had assumed, but was simply suffering from morning sickness, for he had been living with her during the last few months when he was in Tongatapu. So he came over to Kahoua and stole her away.

They spent the next few months cruising around the islands of Ha'apai. It is said that when they landed on the beach of one of the many little islands off the shore of Lifuka, Houma Fale Ono vomited violently because of the smell of the

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[5] The /u/ was long and it is written here as a double vowel.

[6] Uate Mahe of Hihifo told the story of how Taufa'ahau received that name from the [553]
priest of Ha'elefeke. Apparently, the priest gave him that name after he cured him from drowning in the whale oil of the ill-fated "Port Au Prince" which the people of Ha'apai massacred. The priest took on the name of Taufa Tahi.

[7] Gifford 1923:142.

[8] Ibid.:143.

[9] Ibid.:177.

[10] Ibid.:183.

[11] This place name is not listed by Gifford even though it is currently in use. It means [417]
"two reeds" and it refers to the double fence around Lavaka's residence which was [351]
made of this variety of bamboo.

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103 ngahu plants that grew profusely there. They went on to the next island, and again
114 she got sick. They went to a third island, and she liked it there so there they stayed
539 until one night she woke up with stabbing pains in her back. Tupouto'a knew
643 that she was in labour so they hurried and set sail for Lifuka. Before landing at
Pangai, however, they decided to turn around and head for 'Uiha to Malupo's place so the child could be born there. As they passed Hihifo, Houma Fale Ono begged them to put to shore because she was going to give birth very soon.

They landed on the beach just as she gave birth to a baby boy. The men called about for a ripe coconut to feed the baby.(12) Finally, an old man, who was bailing out the double canoe, called back that he had a nut from the last island they were on. This was brought and opened. They found that it was a nginingini "a dried shrivelled nut," for all the water was gone. The meat was still good, and
[844] they fed the baby with it. After this, they took the afterbirth and buried it further inland, marking the place with an ovava tree.(13) Then they sailed on to 'Uiha.

[824] When they arrived at 'Uiha, a kava party was held and they told of their travels and the birth of the child. The first island on which they landed and where Houma Fale Ono vomitted from the smell of the ngahu plants was called /lua + ngahu/ "vomit ngahu." The next island was named /lua + hoko/ "vomit next" because that was where she threw up next. The third island that she liked, and where she woke up from her sleep with pain in her back, was called /ofo + langa/ "awake startled from sleep + pain." The beach on which the baby boy was delivered was called /niu ui/ "coconut call" because the men called around for a coconut to feed the baby. The child was named Nginingini Ofolanga, meaning "the shrivelled dried coconut from Ofolanga."

103 Two more names associated with the war between Laufilitonga, the last
114 Tu'i Tonga, and Taufa'ahau which took place on Lifuka island at
539 Ha'apai(14) were given wrong meanings. They are:

643 *Tauakipulu.*	"To build two canoes at the same time for caulking with pulu
194	gum (taua, to build two canoes at the same time; ki, for; pulu, a kind of gum, used as pitch for caulking canoes."(15)
Velata.	"To burn and to strike (vela, to burn; ta, to strike)."(16)

Gifford's Tauakipulu's correct spelling and pronunciation is /tau'akipulu/.
[713] It came from the terrifying yells of Laufili'tonga's fleeing warriors, /ko e pulu 'oku nau tau'aki/ "they are using gun powder in the fight." This sentence had been transformed into /tau'aki'a e pulu/ "fighting with gunpowder," or "using gunpowder for the fight," and /'a e/ got deleted resulting in the present form, /tau'akipulu/ the name given to the King's residence in Ha'apai to commemorate Taufa'ahau's victory over Laufilitonga's warriors.

Velata had also originated in a similar fashion to Tau'akipulu. It is the result of transformations of the original sentence /Ko e taa na'e vevela/" the strike that inflicted pain," referring figuratively to the great mental suffering of Laufilitonga when his wife Lupe Pau'u eloped with Taufa'ahau. This original sentence was transformed to /Na'e vevela 'a e taa/. Then the past tense marker /na'e/ was

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[853] 12. Before the baby is breast fed by the mother, he is given a *namoa*. This consists of ripe coconut meat which is chewed and wrapped in a piece of unpainted tapa cloth. Then this is placed in the baby's mouth so he can suck it. The coconut cream acts as a mild laxative and it cleans out the baby's *te 'evao* "bush excrement" which is the term applied to the baby's first passing of stool.

13. Most people in Ha'apai believe that the ovava tree in front of the hospital at Niu'ui on Lifuka is this same ovava tree referred to in this story.

14. Gifford. 1923:213–14.

15. */tau'akipulu/*. Gifford 1923:216. The three morphemes in this compound word are */tau/* "fight or war" /'aki/ instrumental suffix, and */pulu/* "gunpowder."

16. Gifford 1923:257.

11

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deleted leaving /vevela /'a e taa/. Somehow the /ve/ which looks like only a 103
reduplication of the C_1 V_1 in /vela/ "burn" but has the connotation of referring
to "pain" and "hurt" rather than to a diminutive form with the same meaning 114
of "to burn" got deleted and only /vela/ "burn" was left. Deletion of /'a e/ left 539
behind /velataa/. Long /a/ was lost and only /velata/ remained to cause Gifford 643
to arrive at a very literal English translation of "to burn and to strike". 194

One can see from the above examples that onomastics greatly contributes to a 103
better understanding and a more accurate translation of place names for, after
all, they are nothing more than mnemonics of significant events dealing with 114
religious activities, marriage contracts, wars of both local and foreign nature, births, deaths, travels to foreign lands, local migrations due to natural hazards or tribal disputes, festivities, and even genealogies.

Sometimes place names do give meanings that sound like "descriptions of 103
physical features" of particular localities, but often these are not exhibited physically by those places. They are mere symbolisms of inner feelings, a direct result of the Tongan's urge to express his thoughts of appreciation for the aesthetic values of plants, animals, land, sea and sky which are closely associated with his sense of identity.

The Tongan place names have certainly become great and effective instruments in motivating people to action. They have great value in inculcating a deep sense of group solidarity which permeates the very being of every Tongan regardless of his knowledge of their meanings which are now slowly being buried with the inevitable passing of the older and more knowledgeable generation.

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51: Posesi Fanua G,I-4,5 (no date) 1975
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CORRESPONDENCE

Sir,

In a recent issue of your journal (vol. 82, No. 2, June 1973), I was interested 114
to read an article by Tupou L. Pulu under the heading: "Some Remarks on
Alternative Meanings for Tongan Place Names".

Although I heartily agree with her in her opinion of Gifford's *Tongan Place Names*, Gifford's mistakes serve rather as a warning to me, as it is so easy to fall into the same trap.

I have spent almost 20 years of my life doing research into this subject and still
feel I cannot be so arrogant as to make decisive statements. Of course, I can 114
quote information given, but the giver of that information must also be quoted 103
as there are many versions of each place name: the name 'Auhangamea is an
example. In another account, which I learned from Mafile'o Funaki of 'Uiha, 103
the young daughter of a Tu'itonga died on a return voyage from 'Uvea. As the 173
vessel passed this strait, the mats and tapa which had been wrapped round the
putrifying body were renewed and the soiled articles thrown overboard so that
they would be destroyed. Thus the strait was called: "Place (*'anga*) where the
[mats and tapa] things (*me'a*) were destroyed (*'auha*)". But, as I have mentioned 114
above, I feel I must steer off this subject lest I too should fall into the same
category as Mr Gifford and others.

The only thing I should like to correct is that Houma-fale-ono was not the [159]
daughter of the Chief of Houma. Her father was Ma'afu-tukui-'aulahi, Chief of [622]
Vaini, and there is no dispute about this. In the 18 books of genealogy kept in [217]
the Palace Office, Nuku'alofa, she is cited as such.

Included in the list of references, is a work by my father, Fe'iloakitau Kaho. 114
The title is given as *Ko e Kumi 'o e Tu'i 'e he Kau Ha'apai*, which, being in italics,
I understand to be the name of a book; being Kaho's one and only child and 113
having no knowledge that he ever wrote a book, I naturally should like to have
information on where I could obtain a copy. The title given to this book is the [533]
title of a song of his which he composed for a *lakalaka* dance; I found it amongst
his papers when he died at the good old age of 89 years.

In my father's papers, which as his only child I became heir to, there is a 114
different story cited there about the birth of Taufa'ahau (Tupouto'a's son). I might 173
mention here that Tupouto'a and Kahomovailahi were first cousins, their mothers [428]
being sisters. Kahomovailahi was my father's great-grandfather.

I pen this letter only because Kaho Fe'iloakitau is my father and I hate to 114
think that one such as he, who spent most of his life researching and teaching
our history, should be thought to have made such a mistake as that concerning 814
Houma-fale-ono's parentage, which every school child is familiar with.

I am sincerely,

TUPOU POSESI FANUA
Tonga Traditions Committee,
Palace Records Office,
Nuku'alofa, Kingdom of Tonga

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

A Study of Tongan Panpipes with a Speculative Interpretation

*by Adrienne L. Kaeppler**

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114 In the pages of the ***Journal of the Polynesian Society*** in 1941, Te Rangi
174 Hiroa described a number of Polynesian panpipes, including two Tongan
specimens from the voyages of Captain Cook, and attempted in his final
paragraph to use panpipes as evidence to support his view on the
migration of the Polynesians through Micronesia. In the intervening
years, new studies of Tongan material culture, Captain Cook, and Poly-
nesian migrations have made additional information available and it
128 seems appropriate to place this information on record. These remarks
will be divided into three parts. First, it will be shown that panpipes
can support an alternative migration route to that proposed by Hiroa.
Second, the Cook voyage attribution of panpipes will be discussed.
Third, the musical and aesthetic properties of Tongan panpipes and
their relation to social organization will be explored.

174 Recent archaeological and linguistic research indicates that "proto-
Oceanic people" reached Tonga by 1500 B.C., having traveled through
the Melanesian area probably before much of it was inhabited by
peoples we now call Melanesians (see Green 1966, 1967, 1968; Golson
1971; Groube 1972). These studies, of course, have not attempted to
determine or even suggest what kind of musical instruments these people
53 used. However, the most widespread musical instrument in Polynesia
171 at the time of European contact was the bamboo noseflute, which was
175 found in nearly all of the island groups except New Zealand -- where
bamboo was not available and a different group of wind instruments
evolved. From this widespread distribution one would assume that the

noseflute was a trait common to the proto-Oceanic people. The panpipe, 534
on the other hand, was one of the least widely distributed of Polynesian 171
traits. The only satisfactory pre-European evidence is from Tonga. Hiroa 175
appeals to Wilkes (1844) and Stair (1897) for Samoan evidence, but 534
their writings are too late to prove pre-European distribution.[1] I agree 171 114
with Hiroa that this limited Polynesian distribution indicates late pre- 175
European introduction from Fiji, but for different reasons. It would appear that panpipes are part of the Melanesian culture complex that came into the Melanesian area in post-Lapita contexts and extended
as a complex as far as Fiji. For centuries before the coming of the 177
Europeans there was considerable contact between Fiji and Tonga in trade, warfare, and intermarriage. Diffusion of material culture was inevitable.

A number of parallels in material culture, including panpipes and 175 534
bamboo stamping tubes, are shared between Tonga and Melanesia,[2] 535
which suggests late introduction from Fiji. Bamboo stamping tubes 177
(tuki kofe) accompanied Tongan dances of the type called *me'elaufola*. [171]
At the time of European contact the *me'elaufola* was a living dance [533]
type, with the poetry sung in everyday language (rather than the older [192]
poetic Tongan used in the texts for other dance types), and could easily incorporate new musical instruments and ideas. The use of bamboo stamping tubes in Tonga is described mainly in the journals of Cook and Labillardière — Tongans today are not familiar with the instruments except as used in the Fijian *meke*. The demise of bamboo stamping tubes soon after European contact suggests that they were not fundamental to Tongan music and may have been introduced relatively
recently in prehistoric times from Fiji. The panpipe (*mimika*), likewise, 534
seems to have had no fundamental musical purpose or meaning in 175
Tongan music, but rather appears to have been simply a pleasurable
pastime object. I suggest that it, too, was introduced from Fiji relatively [177]
late in the prehistoric sequence, that it enjoyed a temporary flowering, then changed, and eventually disappeared after European contact.

In his 1941 article, Hiroa attributed two Tongan panpipes to Cook's 534
voyages. One of these, in the Cook collection in Berne, Switzerland, 113
was collected by Webber, artist on Cook's third voyage (although it is not listed in Henking 1957, and cannot be located). The other, in the British Museum, is noted "Cook coll.", although this attribution was

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52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

121 It is hoped that this discussion will encourage dialogue on the potential usefulness of objects now found mainly in the storerooms of museums and all but unknown in their countries of origin.

NOTES

101 122 * Research in the Tongan Islands was carried out for one and a half years in 1964—1967 supported by Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5-F1-MH-25, 981-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health and the Wennergren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Research on ethnographic collections and documents in museums and libraries was carried out in 1969—1972, supported by grants from the Wennergren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the American Philosophical Society, and the National Endowment for the Arts. To these institutions I wish to express my appreciation. 122 I also wish to thank Barbara B. Smith, Dieter Christensen, Mervyn McLean, and Richard Moyle for helpful comments on the manuscript and to acknowledge permission to publish the following photographs British Museum, figs. 1 and 2; Royal Scottish Museum, fig. 5; Pitt Rivers Museum, fig. 6; Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen, fig. 7; Museo Nazionale de Antropologia e Etnologia, Florence, fig. 8; Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm, fig. 9; Bernisches Historisches Museum, fig. 10; Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, figs. 12 and 16; London School of Economics, fig. 13; Peabody Museum, Salem, figs. 14 and 15; and Bishop Museum, figs. 3, 4, 11 and 17.

534 171 114 1. The earliest panpipes from Samoa that I have been able to locate were accessioned by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, in 1886. These two panpipes have five and seven pipes in graduated series, are beveled on one side only, and are provenanced to Tutuila.

534 535 171 177 2. Bamboo stamping tubes have also been reported for Uvea and Futuna, but it is likely that they were used in conjunction with musical types that diffused from Fiji or Tonga. In view of this, stamping tubes in Hawaii are clearly a problem, but it could well be that they are post-European.

534 113 3. It would be illuminating to know who on the second voyage gave the panpipe to Banks. According to Rienits and Rienits (who used an illustration of this panpipe, 1968: 118), it "was given to Cook as a present and taken home by him". However, there is no evidence for this supposition — they were probably simply misled by the "Cook coll." label.

4. The attributions in the early manuscript catalogue in Berlin are not always reliable, however, and lacking independent documentation, these panpipes cannot be definitely ascribed to Forster (see Kaeppler 1974). The panpipes cannot be located and may have been destroyed during the war.

1c

and group relations must be distinguished from 'natural' principles of 121
status allocation based on such factors as personality, sex, and age,
which appear in all societies. However, in certain highly stratified
societies such as India and Ruanda, culturally defined categories of
rank are claimed to be pervasive in structuring interpersonal relationships,
including the widely noted higher status of elders to the young,
of men to women, and of strong-willed to weak-willed individuals.
Whether or not individuals in these societies are necessarily more 'rank
conscious' in an absolute sense than individuals in societies without
elaborate ideologies of rank is a question that cannot be answered here.

Conditions in the modern kingdom of Tonga, the only remaining 565
Polynesian kingdom in a region that has been culturally typed for the
prevalence of its highly stratified societies (Sahlins, 1963), depart in 554
some ways from the view which posits the permeation of both inter-
and intra-class interactions with concerns for status differentiation in
terms of a given ideology of rank. Research focussed on Tongan village
life has not discovered a predominantly hierarchical quality in the everyday
interactions among commoners. Neither the Beagleholes, who 565
studied a small village of commoners in the Vava'u region of Tonga
(Beaglehole, 1941), nor Aoyagi, who studied a village on the main 554
island of Tongatapu (Aoyagi, 1966), emphasized the hierarchical quality 114
of village life. Quite to the contrary, Aoyagi noted the absence of
internal stratification in the village that she observed. My own material 565
from fieldwork in the village of 'Uiha in the Ha'apai region of Tonga 554
confirms the view that there is as much equality as hierarchy in the [101]
observed daily interactions among commoners.[2] I had expected the organization
of casual groups within the village, especially the organization 571
of work groups, to be governed by principles of status differentiation, 565
borrowed conceptually from the principles that govern interactions 554
within Tongan kin groups and between social classes, but I did not
find this connection. For example, there is a striking contrast in the 571
behavior of commoner participants in the daily, recreational *fai kava*,
in which kava drinking and conversations are conducted in a relaxed 565
atmosphere where distinctions of status are difficult to perceive, and 276
in the formally ritualized *'ilo kava*, in which the noble or his represen- 574
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[2] I lived for 2½ months on the island (and village) of 'Uiha during the summer of 1972. I spent shorter periods of time in the capital, Nuku'alofa, and touring the main island of Tongatapu. I worked almost entirely in the Tongan [122] -
language. Since the scope of this paper is broader than a community study, my constructs are based upon my own data and reading of published literature.

571 tative is present and in which all interactions are structured in terms
565 of demeanor and deference.

276 This is of course not to say that questions of rank and status deter-
574 mination are not important in Tongan social behavior. Rather one
554 must try to establish the loci in social life where consistent principles
of rank and status determination are important, and not important,
554 instead of being satisfied with *facile claims that all social interactions*
565 in societies with elaborate ideologies of stratification are dominated by
121 concerns with rank. Kaeppler's reanalysis of Tongan principles of rank
is an important first step in attempting to distinguish the context
565 of Tongan society in which an interest in status determination is a
114 dominant element in the content of social relations (Kaeppler, 1971).
Although she begins by claiming that "all interpersonal relationships in the island kingdom are governed by principles of rank ..." (Kaeppler, 1971, p. 174), she recognizes in her critique of Aoyagi that the Tongan village is not a microcosm of Tongan society and that a consideration of the importance of rank must be viewed in terms of rank within kin groups and between social classes. In addition, Kaeppler demonstrates that village studies alone do not provide an adequate understanding of the multidimensional contexts in which concerns with status differentiation operate in Tongan social relations.

121 Focussing on interactions within the commoner class in Tonga,[3] this paper will approach the problem of examining the importance of rank in everyday life by defining two alternative sets of structural arrangements for every adult individual in Tongan society, which although interdependent, are governed by different concerns with status deter-

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121 [3] I lived in a community the noble of which was absent and thus observed
123 predominantly commoner social interactions. Much of the previous work on
Tonga is characterized by a fascination with the social and cultural life of
565 Tongan nobility, and there is a need to understand social arrangements at the
bottom of the class structure. In fact, it is possible to attribute the extreme
114 'permeation' view of ideologies of rank, which this paper attempts to modify,
to the predominant attention that analysts have paid to rituals and customs
554 of high status groups. For example, previous studies of highly stratified societies attribute intra-class or horizontal rankings to concepts originating in inter-class or vertical rankings (see Maquet, 1961; Goldman, 1970). There is no general justification for establishing a relationship of dominance of vertical over horizontal domains of ranking even though both domains may share some common features in the way that rank is expressed. In this paper, it is only necessary to demonstrate that kinship and class domains share some common principles of expressing rank without concern for the dominance of domains, a question that may appear and needs an answer only when one's perspective is from the top down in the analysis of a hierarchical system.

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

aware of the exact societal significance of the noble title to which they 565
are associated, they still have a keen sense of honor carried for them by 621
the title-holder. Still, the title-holder is not one of them, although he may
have been before succeeding to the title. Rather, he operates in and [276
becomes part of a different domain of social life in which commoners 574]
have no part other than in the representation of their honor through
the noble, i.e. the domain of kingship and royalty expressed most vividly
in the *taumafakava* or kava ceremony of the Tu'i, his *matāpules*, and
the nobles.

The various types of kava-drinking situations and the rituals asso- 276
ciated with them are the key to the contemporary preservation of 574
traditional aspects of Tongan social structure.[9] Kava-drinking is a highly
ritualized remnant of ancient Tongan customs, most of which were swept [178]
away with the virtual replacement of the important indigenous religious
belief systems and related ritual by Christianity. The differences in *fai* 276
kava (among commoners), *'ilo kava* (with a noble present), and a 574
taumafakāva (with the Tu'i present) reflect, and are a visual mani-
festation of, Tonga's class structure. One's rank in the class structure is 565
seen by the observer in the hierarchical rituals of the various levels of
kava-drinking. The ritual and symbolic superiority of the noble over his
people is most striking in the *'ilo kava* ceremony both to the analyst and
the indigenous informant on the village level.

In sum, the centrifugal force of the family estate on village residents 621
is currently a major factor responsible for the erosion of the traditional 565
supports for the noble's *de facto* prerogatives and influence in the com- 612
munity. People who are interested in the development of their dispersed
estates, which may eventually be a means for their own social mobility, [554]
are less likely to be interested in the honor and status that they gain in
the traditional system through the person of the title-holder. To the
extent that this is true, the actual authority of nobles, at least in the

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[9] For previous discussions and descriptions of kava-drinking ceremonies in [114]
modern Tonga see Gifford, 1929, pp. 156-170; Beaglehole, 1941, pp. 112-122;
Newell, 1947; Collocott, 1927; and most recently, Bott and Leach, 1972.
These authors (except Beaglehole) concentrate largely on the highly ritualized
kava-drinking ceremonies of the king and nobles. There is as yet no adequate
ethnographic account of the commoner *fai kava*. This is an excellent example
of how fascination with noble customs can lead to an overemphasis on the
permeation of concern with rank in all institutions and within all classes.
As I suggest here, the commoner *fai kava* is permeated much more with the
egalitarian ethic of the *fonua* than with the hierarchical ideology of the
societal class system.

128 the other.[1] To have swell'd the Journal with a minute accou[n]t of bearings tacking &cª would neither have been entertaining nor usefull.

121 114 What has been here Omitted concerning the Geography of these islands will be found in the Narrative of my last Voyage; to that Narrative I must also refer for several particulars concerning the Inhabitants, their Manners and arts, as I shall now confine my self to such things as are intresting and not mentioned in that Narrative and such as may tend to explain some passages in the account of our transactions with them.

124 It may indeed be expected that after spending between two and three Months among these islands, I should be enable[d] to give a good account of the customs, opinions and arts of the inhabitants, especially as we had a person on board who understood thier language and he ours.[2] But unless the object or thing we wanted to enquire after was before us, we found it difficult to gain a tolerable knowledge of it from information only without falling into a hundred mistakes; in this Omai was more liable than us because he never gave himself the trouble to gain knowledge for himself, so that when he was disposed to explain things to us his account was often very confused. It was also very rare we found a person both able and willing to giving us the information we wanted, for the most of them hate to be troubled with what they probably think idle questions. 123 Our situation at *Tongatabu* where we remained the longest, was likewise unfavourable; it was in a part of the country where there were few inhabitants except fishers; it was always holyday with our visitors as well as with those we visited, so that we had but few oppertunities of seeing into their domistick way of living.

144 *Persons Manners and Customs*

As to the people they differ very little from those of Otaheite either in their persons or desposition, if any thing these have the advantage in being better limbed and finer shaped, but than their complexion is much darker.[3] 142 302 The hair is of different colours that is black, dark brown and flaxen,

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[1] By the 'annexed Chart' Cook must, I presume, mean the original from which was engraved Pl. XII of the printed *Voyage*, I, on which Bligh makes the comment (AL, p. 225), 'This is a Copy of my Chart, which was an entire Survey of my own except the South side of Amsterdam & the Isl^{d} Eooa which C. Cook laid down'. See, for a modern equivalent, Fig. 5 in the present volume.

[197] [2] We get a note on the language from Burney, f. 205. 'The Tongitabu language is more distinct and easier to be learnt than the Otaheite. it is less composed of vowels and does not afford so many instances of words nearly alike conveing different meanings. the G and K are sounds not used by the Otaheiteans and which they are not able to pronounce. in many words the gradual change of language may be traced from the Society Islands to the westward; as in Boa (a Hog) at Otaheite, Boakko at Tongitabu and Wacka at Horn Island.'

[3] Because of their position on the Polynesian-Melanesian borderline.

A [See category 102, p. 104--Analyst]

000 the evening to N in mod^t breezes. The weather close[a] and cloudy with
some heavy showers about noon but at night pretty clear. A moderate
sea. Steer'd WSW & SWbW. Saw some Tropic Birds and fishes.

114 SUNDAY 27. *Lat.* DR 20.32 S. *Long.* DR 185.36 E. *Therm.* 75½:75¾:
76¼:76¼:76:75¼. The wind SE and SSE till near noon & afterwards
132 about E. Moderate breezes and gentler in the afternoon, but the
[131] evening increas'd again a little. The weather fine with a smooth sea.
Steerd WSW till noon and then W½N, but at seven in the evening the
114 Discovery bore down and hal'd us as they thought they saw Land
bearing WbN, when we haul'd our wind to the S^oward. At half
past ten we tack'd and stood to the N^oward. Cleand and smoak'd
below.

132 MONDAY 28. *Long.* TK 185.27½ E? *Therm.* 77½:79¾:79½:78:76½:77¼.
[131] The wind NbW and N. Moderate breezes and at night rather gentler.
The weather fine in the forenoon but afterwards duller, and in the
evening a great deal of Thunder and lightning chiefly to the SW which
114 was follow'd by some rain. A smooth sea. At three in the morning
we stood to the westward close haul'd, and though we expected to see
the Land at daylight it was not discoverd before nine o clock, when
the Discovery made the Signal & we soon after saw it from the mast
114 head. It soon appear'd from the deck as three small islands almost a
133 head[1] and at noon we were within about five miles of the southermost,
which as well as the others seem'd to be two miles in length and
somewhat higher than Te rouggemou A'tooa but lower than Wateeoo
[131] and Savage island. We could plainly see they were coverd with trees,
amongst which were some Cocoa nuts, and they had white sandy
beaches but the sea broke to some distance off each end of that we
were nearest. At the same time we could sea [*sic*] several more islands
just appearing, some to windward some a-head & three or four on the
lee bow.[2] They appeard much like the others when we got nearer, but
some rather higher & one right a head made in two hummocks but
about four in the afternoon in three, at which time the Island
Annamocka[3] was plainly seen beyond it which seemd to be three

[a] The heat has been less severe for two days past which may be probably owing to the frequent rains we have had. Whether it may be the variable and rainy season hereabouts I cannot determine, but if so it proves these are not consequences of extensive lands, for the islands in this sea are mere points and can have little effect in producing changes of wind or weather.

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[1] These were the three most southern islands of the 'Otu Tolu group, called (from south to north) Telekitonga, Telekiha'apai, and Telekivava'u. *Teleki* means 'on the way to'.

[2] These were the islands of the Nomuka group: the main ones to windward and ahead were Mango, Nomuka Iki and Nomuka; to leeward were Kelefesia and Tonumea.

[3] Nomuka.

[pp. 721-859 not processed]

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

times the size of the largest we had yet seen. The islands almost 114
incircled us now and we tack'd standing to the NE, but at five stood
back again, soon after which two Canoes one with four & the other 133
with three men paddled towards us and came along side without the
least hesitation. They brought some Cocoa nuts, Bread fruit, plan- 609
tanes and sugar cane which they gave in exchange for small nails and 439
knives. One of the Indians came on board and when they left us
another Canoe came but did not stay long as night was approaching,
for the nearest island was five or six miles off which was that with
three hummocks, and sufficiently shows the hazard these people
would run to posess a few of our triffling articles. We sounded at this 114
time and had 40 fathom but soon after only 17, on which we made
the signal for the Discovery to anchor which we did about six o clock
in a bottom of coarse Coral sand with bits of shells.

TUESDAY 29. *Therm.* 75½:76½:80½:79:78:76½. The wind about N 132
except part of the forenoon when it chang'd suddenly and came from
WSW with a great deal of heavy rain. The rest of the day moderate
breezes with the weather dull or cloudy and a sultry air. About five in 609
the morning we sent two boats to the nearest island which lay in our
way and was that mention'd last night, that they might purchase 439
vegetables and meet us as we came up to it. Soon after we weigh'd
and stood towards it but made several tacks as the wind was foul, in
which time six or seven canoes came from different islands and
brought bread fruit, plantanes and yams which they exchang'd as
yesterday evening. They also brought several fowls, a great many [431]
shaddocks, and an old man who had been on board last night made
the Captain a present of a pretty large hog. Besides these they also [136]
exchang'd pieces of cloth, fish hooks, small baskets, musical reeds and
some clubs, spears and bows, as well as some large wood Pigeons,[1] [223]
small rails[2] and large violet colour'd Coots.[3] They retreated when the
rain was violent, about which time one of our boats return'd with a
considerable quantity of bread fruit, yams, plantanes and some grass
for the cattle. The other return'd soon after noon with more vegetables, some fowls and seven young hogs, so that altogether we had
procurd as much bread fruit and other Vegetables as serv'd our
people to day, which with an addition brought by several more
Canoes in the afternoon also ennabled us to spare some to the Discovery and reserve enough to ourselves for another day. Our people
were very civilly treated by the Indians at the island, who sold them
the bread fruit for a bead each and the hogs for a small hatchet

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[1] *Globicera pacifica.* [2] The Spotless Crake, *Porzana tabuensis.* [3] *Porphyrio melanotus.*

609 apiece, but bunches of plantanes or fowls were purchas'd for
439 middling siz'd nails. The inhabitants were not numerous and their
huts which were collected together and stood within a plantane walk
361 but indifferent: not far from them there was a pretty large pond of
312 fresh water, which was tolerable though not equal to what we commonly
meet with in streams, of which there was not the least
114 appearance. Between two and three in the afternoon we pass'd this
133 island, the higher parts of which are not wooded and seem to be
uncultivated, but it has notwithstanding a pleasant appearance. We
[137] pass'd near a reef or shoal that lyes to the SW of it and in the evening
were abreast of Annamocka, but being three or four miles to leeward
kept turning up as we had no soundings with less than 40
fathom which made it inconv[en]ient to anchor. The bottom was
rocky & we had sometimes 55 fathom but at eleven at night 50 with
the same sort of ground.

132 WEDNESDAY 30th. *Long.* TK 184.41 E. The wind from ENE to N and
NbW. Moderate breezes and sometimes gentle or almost calm. The
weather dull with a great deal of rain early in the morning and some
114 in the afternoon. A swell from the SW. Before day light we continued
to make short boards and when that appear'd were nearly in the
same place as last night, but soon after as there was but little wind we
[133] fell more to leeward. When the breeze sprung up we stood in and at
eleven in the forenoon were near the shore of Annamocka eete[1] or
little Annamocka, off which lye some shoals on which a high surf
broke. We afterwards made several tacks and as the wind became
more favourable in the afternoon we lay up for the anchoring place
at Annamocka, but it failing us in the evening we anchor'd in 42
fathom coral sand and shells about two miles off shore at the WNW
114 part of the island. In the forenoon we saw two islands to the NWtward
133 which are those call'd Kaybay and Mattafóâ[a] in Abel Tasmans plate
of Annamocka, where they are represented too small. The one is a
[103] single mountain of a Conic figure which has a noble appearance, and
the other is pretty long and flat on the top though much higher than
any of the neighbouring isles (except that just mention'd) or indeed
439 of any we had yet seen between the tropics. All the day we had
several canoes, sometimes near twenty, about the ship from whom we
purchas'd a great quantity of vegetables and about a dozen small
hogs and pigs besides many fowls. Our trade was brisker today as

[a] Their names as told us by the natives are 'Káô and To'fooa. [Kao and Tofua.]

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[1] Nomuka Iki.

some orders were issued out by the Captain to prohibit every person 439
from purchasing any thing but provisions, and also appointed proper
people for that purpose. While working up towards the island in the 114
day we had from 41 to 49 fathom with a bottom of broken shells and
black sand. 133

[MAY 1777]

THURSDAY MAY 1st. The wind ESE. Moderate breezes with dull 132
cloudy weather and some showers of rain. Early in the morning the
Master was sent in the Cutter to examine the SE part[1] of the island and 114
in the forenoon returnd with an account of there being good anchoring
and landing, but there was no water near except a small stagnant
Pool and a few holes dug in the sand which had both a very indifferent
sort. In the mean time we had weighd and work'd close in shore, but
determin'd now to reach the anchoring place which Captn Cook had
occupy'd when at this island in 1774, which though at a small distance
took us till four in the afternoon before we got up, which was
occasion'd by a tide or current that seem'd to set right off shore. We
anchor'd in fathom a sandy bottom not a mile from the shore
on the NNW part of the Island. Soon after day light several Canoes 609
came off and at one time we had near forty about the ship, besides 501
two large sailing Canoes that carry'd between forty and fifty men
each. We purchas'd a great quantity of vegetables and in particular 439
had more bread fruit than we could use, and several hogs & fowls in
the same manner as on the preceding days, but were oblig'd to punish
one of our people who already infring'd the articles made to regulate
our bartering. There were several women in the Canoes that came off [562]
to day who were perhaps incited by curiosity to visit us, though at the [609]
same time they barterd as eagerly as the men and us'd the paddle
with equal labour and dexterity. The Discovery anchor'd a little 114
before us though once far to leeward.

FRIDAY MAY 2d. The wind E or Ebs with cloudy weather and some 132
showers of rain. In the morning we hoisted out the Launch and other
boats and in the forenoon the Captain went on shore and agreed 648
with the natives for the use of a hut or shed to serve as a tent and also
for procuring water. In the afternoon the horses were sent on shore
and at the same time a party of marines under the command of Mr
King, who kept gaurd in the shade for the protection of the horses
and waterers. To strengthen our party some were sent from the Discovery,
and a signal agreed on between that ship and those on shore

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[1] Cook says 'to Sound the SW side'.

[1777]

648 in case any disturbance should happen with the natives, because she lay quite abreast of the S^o^most sandy beach whereas we were rather 609 to leeward of it. There was however little reason to expect such an accident as they behav'd in the most civil manner to us (if we except 685 their attempting to thieve every thing) and many came off and 439 barterd hogs and Vegetables, though not in such numbers as when standing off and on, as their attention was much taken up to day with our boats going so frequently on shore.

132 SATURDAY MAY 3^d^. The wind N . Mod^t^ breezes. The weather fine with some showers in the afternoon. Our people employ'd watering & 648 another party in cutting wood, both which the chief who is nam'd Taipa agreed to. Many of the natives traded at the ship and on shore 439 exchanging their fruits for nails & beads as before. They also asissted in rolling down our water casks but they seem'd to understand Trade so perfectly that they would not do or give the smallest triffle unless they were paid.

114 SUNDAY 4^th^. The wind W. Moderate breezes with fine weather. The [132] people employed in wooding and watering and a party in cutting [439] grass for the Cattle. The indians continue to Barter their fruits but very few hogs are now brought, though several Canoes have come [133] from the other islands. The Discovery lost her small bower anchor not from any wind or sea but the foul ground which is probably coral rock.

[132] MONDAY MAY 5^th^. The wind westerly. Gentle breezes with fine 137 weather. The people employ'd as before, but several of the party who were wooding sufferd greatly from the juice of the trees which they [114] cut down, as it is so acrid that when they wip'd their face with their hands it inflam'd their Eyes so as to make them incapable of working & had the same effect on some other parts. They erroneously suppos'd it to be Manchineel for it is a species of Pepper and grows plentifully every where towards the shore. The trees are of no great size & the twigs when broke distill a great quantity of a milky juice. [824] It is calld Fait'anoo[1] by the natives & may easily be known by trying if it has the milky juice or from its rounded leaves almost like a [2] tree.

114 The Discovery found her anchor again, but her misfortune made us examine one of our Cables which we found unhurt. The Gunner 439 was employ'd as usual in bartering on shore for provisions & purchas'd a good many Yams and several hogs which came from some of 643 the other isles. We found that though Taipa or Kaipa was the person
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[1] Feta'anu, *Excoecarica agallocha*. It is common in Tonga in thickets near the sea.

[2] 'Manchineel' was presumably the word that slipped Anderson's pen.

who acted chiefly on the part of the Indians, he is not chief of the 643
island but another person nam'd Toobou. We plainly saw the smoke 634
rising from Toofôá which is a volcano but it was constantly varying 648
in quantity and seem'd to proceed from near the middle of the island.

TUESDAY MAY 6th. The wind SSE. Gentle breezes with fine weather. 133
The people employ'd in looking at the other Cable and steadying the 132
ship from swinging in shore with another anchor. The rest employ'd 114
as usual. Few Canoes off to day but trade was carried on as before on
shore. 439

The Capt^{n} brought off a person nam'd Fee'nou who says he is chief
of the Island Tonga'taboo or Amsterdam. We found he arriv'd 634
yesterday and was probably sent to as soon as we arriv'd, for his [516]
consequence seems much greater than that of any person here as they
pay him the greatest respect, and many as a mark of submission bow
their head and touch the sole of his foot with it afterwards, doing the
same with each hand, first with the palm and then the back part. He [142]
is a tall man about 30 but rather thin, and has more of the Europæan
features than any we have yet seen here. The Captain presented him [648]
with a gown of printed linnen and some other things to engage him
in our interest which he was well pleas'd with.

WEDNESDAY MAY 7th. The wind SSE. Moderate breezes with fine 114
weather. The people employ'd as usual and the Indians continue to [132]
trade though not so briskly as formerly. The Discovery on heaving
short to shift her birth into better ground lost her best Bower anchor [439]
and had near fallen on board of our ship, as they got foul of our Cable
in bringing her up, but afterwards got clear and anchor'd a quarter
of a mile or more to the westward of where we lay & rather farther in.

THURSDAY 8th. The Thermometer at noon . The
Barometer . The wind .

FRIDAY MAY 9th. The wind E^{t}ly. Fresh breezes with fine weather. [132]
An Indian of some consequence who was with Fee'nou stole
[1] on board for which he was severely flogg'd, then had his 648
hands tied firmly behind and was carry'd to the place where we [685]
traded on shore but not releas'd till a large hog was brought for
his ransom. I am far from thinking there was any injustice in punishing this man for the theft, as it cannot be determind what might be
the consequence if such practices had been permitted, but that he
should be confin'd in a painfull posture for some hours after, or a
ransom demanded after proper punishment for the crime had been

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[1] According to Cook, he stole 'the bolt belonging to y^{e} Spun yarn wench'.

648 inflicted I believe will scarcely be found consonant with the principles of justice or humanity upon the strictest scrutiny.

114 [132] [439] SATURDAY MAY 10th. The wind from E to NNE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather and a considerable swell so that no Indians came off today, but they continued to trade on shore and amongst other things we bought a hawks bill turtle of about 30 Lb weight.

[132] SUNDAY 11th. The wind SSE. Fresh gales with cloudy weather before noon and some rain, thunder and lightning in the morning but afterwards clearer and more moderate. No Canoes came off the weather was so bad. In the forenoon we got off the horses and in the evening the other things with the party of Marines, three of whom were punish'd on shore for negligence. On heaving in the best Bower the service was found broke and the Cable a little damag'd.

[132] MONDAY 12th. The wind SSE. Fresh breezes with pretty clear weather. We should have left the Island but waited for the Discovery who has attempted to recover her anchor yesterday and today, but in vain as [439] it got hold of a rock and the weather has been bad. Few Indians came off as they seem to have exhausted the greatest part of their stock for trade.

[132] TUESDAY 13th. The wind from SE to E. Moderate breezes in the forenoon and afterwards almost calm. The weather fine. The Discovery [533] [535] after a good deal of trouble recover'd her anchor. Few of the natives came off but at night we could hear them engagd in singing and dancing on shore as if a great number had been collected together.

[132] WEDNESDAY 14th. The wind SSE and S. Gentle breezes with very fine weather. Between seven and eight in the morning we weigh'd and 648 left Anamocka or as the natives pronounce it Anna'mooka. This island (as well as Amsterdam & several of the adjacent ones) was discover'd by Abel Tasman in 1643, who considering the time he 131 staid has given a tolerable account of it. Its situation is in 20.14 S Latitude, 185.30 E Longitude, and is about four leagues or more in 133 circuit being nearly of a figure. It is somewhat higher than the other small isles that surround it but may nevertheless be rank'd amongst the low islands.[a] The shore at that part where we lay

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[a] As the different heights of land may easily be misunderstood from the deficiency of terms we use in expressing their various degrees I shall endeavour to explain what I mean by low & other lands. By low land I mean that which is about the height of the English coast about Essex, or what is a general criterion, that on which the trees where there are any appear above water as you approach it before the body of the land is so apparent as to determine its extent. When I say land is of a moderate height I mean that it is as high as the English coast about the Downs of Kent & Sussex, or indeed of the whole southern coast as far as Plymouth. I know no part of the English coast to the E or S^{o}ward to which I

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245 in the open plantane fields. The bread fruit and Cocoa nut trees are
[417 interspers'd with little order though chiefly near their habitations,
and the other parts of the island especially towards the sea and about
[244 the sides of the lake are coverd with trees and bushes of a most
luxuriant growth, the last place having a great many mangroves &
the first a vast number of the Fait'anoo trees already mentioned.
133 There seems to be no rock or stones of any kind about the island that
is not coral, except in one place to the right of the sandy beach which
is the highest part of it, where there is a rock twenty or thirty feet
high of a calcareous stone of a yellowish colour and a very close hard
texture, but even about this place are large pieces of the same coral
rock that composes the shore.

648 We liv'd on the most friendly terms with the natives while we
remain'd here, and obtain'd a much larger supply of refreshment
609 than could have been expected from so small a place, but it should be
[439 consider'd that all the small islands around it furnish'd their Quota,
[342 and the strangers that brought their hogs and other things were
oblig'd to live in temporary huts which they erected or lay them-
[136 selves down behind bushes or ferns. Besides walking frequently in the
country, which we were permitted to do without any interruption,
we sometimes amus'd ourselves in shooting wild ducks not unlike the
Widgeon[1] which are very numerous upon the salt lake and the other
648 pool. In these excursions we found the people had often deserted their
houses to come down to the trading place without entertaining any
609 suspicion that strangers rambling about would take away or destroy
439 any thing about them, but though in these cases it might be suppos'd
161 a great part of the inhabitants were sometimes collected at the beach
it was impossible to form any true computation of their numbers, as
162 the continual resort of strangers from other places mixing with them
might easily mislead one. However as there was never to appearance
above a thousand seen at one time it would perhaps be sufficient to
allow double that number for the whole island.

● 114 We steerd about NNW towards Kàó and Toofòà in our way to
Hapaee,[2] an island which Fee'nou said was of a considerable extent,
634 where we could be supply'd plentifully with every refreshment in the
[648 easiest manner. He engag'd to go to this place with us himself and
seem'd to have some interest in it, for he express'd a good deal of
aversion to the Captains intention of going to Amsterdam which he
133 mention'd to him. Although they made us understand that Hapaee
lay rather to the NE of Anna'mooka, we were obligd to take this route
114 because there is a cluster of islands lying between Annamooka &

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[1] *Anas superciliosa.*

[2] Ha'apai.

A [Nomuka--Analyst]

Too'fôà, which is the farthest we could see to the NW^{t}ward, that are 133
seemingly encumbered with reefs and shoals and perhaps do not
afford a passage for large ships as the Indians seem'd to hint. Several 114
Canoes follow'd us a considerable way to trade and one man who was 648
on board stole an iron Crow which was perceiv'd by some of our
people, but he immediately got into a Canoe and went off. Feenou 685
sent & recover'd this but as it was suspected he had stole something [439]
else, two or three muskets were fird at the Boat he was in though none [634]
of them hit, and after that a four pounder which had no better
success.

The chief left us before dinner and went in a large sailing Canoe 634
which had brought him from Amsterdam towards some of the
islands mention'd above, which we were now almost a-breast of. The 103
names of these as they lye in order beggining with the S^{o}most were
told us by the natives and are as follows, though perhaps their true
situation differ'd from the apparent one we now had in view.[1]

Fo'nooee,fooa [Fonoifua]
Fonooa,eeka [Fonuaika]
+O'ooa ['O'uka]
+Noogoo'laiee [Nukulai]
Looa'nammo [Luanamo]
Fo'ooa [Foua]
+Fotoohàà [Fotuha'a]
+Ha'faiva [Ha'afeva]
+Toong'ooa [Tungua]
+'Keeto [Kito]
+'Kotoo [Kotu]
Foonoo'eia [unknown]
Lootoo'aigee [Lutueki, a flat-topped rock]
Fatoo,man'ogee [Fatumanongi, a flat-topped rock]
+Kàô — The high Conic isle [Kao]
+Tooföà — The flat Volcano isle [Tofua]

These islands lye scatterd at unequal distances and are in general 133
nearly as high as Annamooka, but only from two or three miles to
half a mile long & some scarcely so much. They have either steep
rocky shores like Annamooka or reddish cliffs, but some have sandy
beaches extending almost their whole length. They are entirely [137]
cloath'd with trees amongst which are many Cocoa palms, and each
forms a prospect like a beautifull garden plac'd in the sea, to heighten
which the serene weather we now had contributed very much & the

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[1] To save a series of footnotes, I give the present forms of the names of these islands in the text in square brackets. With the exception of the two last and of Fotuha'a they all belong to the Lulunga or Kotu group. The three exceptions belong to the Ha'apai group.

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133 whole might supply the imagination with an idea of some fairy land
[137] realiz'd. It would appear that some of these places may be form'd after
the manner we have suppos'd of Palmerstons Island, as there is one which as yet is entirely sand and another that has only one bush or tree. Indeed the appearance of Annamooka in general argues also such a mode of formation, did not its height perswade us that the sea has either made a very sudden recess or that it has begun to do so at a period so remote as scarcely to coincide with the date of the Creation.

114 At five in the evening we had reach'd Kotoo the most N^o^westerly of the low islands, a little beyond which is a shoal or reef on which the
133 sea breaks all around. On passing it we were about two leagues from Toofôá, the smoke of which we had seen several times in the day
131 though it had now almost ceas'd. This island is about ten leagues NNW
162 from Anna'mooka and though according to the natives but thinly
312 inhabited has good water. They call the Volcano upon it Kolloo'feea[1] and say it is an O'tooa or divinity, about which they seem to have
133 some superstitious notions. They say it sometimes throws up very
823 large stones and compare the Crater to the size of a small islet, which has never ceas'd smoaking in their memory nor have they any
103 tradition that it ever did. We now hauld our wind and stood ESE
776 towards the islands already mention'd which form here almost a semicircle. At six were about two miles from the shore of one of the
114 largest calld Ma'toogoo,[2] when we sounded and had ground with 55 fathom a fine black sandy bottom, and soon after nearly the same water with a coarser white sand. We then tack'd and stood back having for half an hour between 50 and 60 fathom, when we brought to with the main-topsail to the mast for some time & afterwards stood
[136] on to the westward. A great many Egg birds and flying fish were seen in the passage to day, and it was observ'd that after sailing in the morning a tide or current from the westward set us much over towards the islands on the right.

132 THURSDAY 15th. *Therm.* 72½:73:74½:77:75:74½. Light airs of wind from the S^o^ward and frequently quite calm with very fine weather.
114 The sea perfectly smooth. Between twelve and one in the morning we tack'd and stood eastward keeping close haul'd to pass to the South-
[133] ward of Fotoohâá which is the Island next Káó. At day light were not far from the last place, which is a vast rock of a conic figure with
[103] marks on its sides as if made by torrents rushing down. After passing

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[1] The name of the volcano is Lofia. *Ko* is the nominative article. Lofia seems also to have been the name of the *'otua* or god who dwelt within the crater, throwing up fire and smoke and stones.

[2] Matuku.

Fotoo'háá[1] we steered NE and sometimes more northerly but made little 114
progress, so that it was about five in the evening till we reach'd two
shoals[a] that lye to the eastward of Nee'neeva,[2] the next island to 103
Fotoo'háá and scarcely more than two leagues from it. We then
tack'd and stood again to the westward when we had soundings with
fifty three and forty seven fathom in a coral sandy bottom, though
not long before we had no ground with seventy fathom about four
leagues east from Káó.

We saw several more Islands to the eastward today and some land 114
whose extent could not be well determin'd, which we suppos'd to be
the Island we were directed to by Feenou. Several Canoes came from [439]
the different islands near us to barter their fruit, and Fee'nou who
had been at one of them all night came accompanied by two more [634]
large Canoes and brought two hogs, some plantanes and Cocoa nuts [431]
as a present to the Captain but return'd in the evening. In the night
we could plainly see flames issuing from Toofóá though to no great [133]
height, and in the day though it smoak'd considerably at other times it
almost ceas'd.

FRIDAY 16th. *Lat.* DR 19.42 S. *Therm.* 73¾:75:78¼:78:75:74. The 132
wind varying between SSE and SE. Gentle breezes with fine serene
weather and temperate. The sea quite smooth. In the night we made 114
short boards just to keep our station but at day light stood E close
hauld, when we saw the land discoverd from the mast head yesterday 133
afternoon, bearing EbS, and could judge it to be low from the trees
only appearing above the water. About nine we could see it plainly,
forming three Islands nearly of an equal size, and soon after a fourth
to the southward of these as large as the others. Each seem'd to be
about six or seven miles long, and of the same height and appearance,
lying in a bending direction from North to south. The northermost 131
of these is call'd Há'ano,[3] the next Fóá,[4] the third Lai'fooga[5] and the 103
southermost Hoo'laiva,[6] but are all included in the general name
Ha'paee by the natives. There is likewise a small isle to the E^{t}ward
of Hoo'laiva call'd Ta'taffa,[7] one lying to the westward of Ha'ano
call'd Loo'hoggo,[8] and another between Ha'ano and Fóá but farther
on to the eastward call'd Noogoo'nammo.[9] About ten o clock we
pass'd to the southward of two other islands, the first calld Mang'onne[10]

[a] in passing between these shoals and Fotoo'háá we sounded but had no ground with seventy fathom.

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[1] Fotuha'a.

[2] Niniva.

[3] Ha'ano.

[4] Foa.

[5] Lifuka.

[6] Uoleva.

[7] Tatafa.

[8] Luahoko.

[9] Nukunamu.

[10] Mo'unga'one.

131 the second Offo'lange,[1] between which is a rock nam'd Bouhee,[2] and
103 at eleven had got up to Loo'hoggo. We then tack'd and stood to the
S^o^ward but in the afternoon to the eastward, and at seven in the
evening were within a league of the shore of Ha'ano, but stood off
again as we had no soundings with less than 56 fathom. Before dark
some more land was supposd to be seen to the NE^t^ward, which was
probably an Island mention'd to us by the natives who call it
Va'vaoo[3] and say it is much larger than Ha'paee.

634 A good many Canoes came from the different isles who brought a
609 few hogs, fowls and fruit, and Fee'nou follow'd us again to day with a
431 present of two more hogs, some Cocoa nuts &c but in the afternoon
went forward to Hapaee.

132 SATURDAY 17th. The wind ESE. Moderate breezes with fine weather
though sometimes a little cloudy. A smooth sea. Lat^d^ at noon 19.46.08
114 p. ob. In the night we stood off and on and in the morning were close
133 in with Foa, which we saw was join'd to Ha'ano by a reef running
even with the surface of the sea from one to the other. In the mean
time the Master was sent in the cutter to sound between several
small shoals that lye a little way off shore, and before eight she made
the signal for having found anchorage, upon which we stood on and
soon after came to abreast of the reef which joins Lai'fooga to Fóá (in
the same manner as the last place is joind to Ha'ano) though rather
over towards the N end of Lai'fooga in twenty four fathom about a
mile from the shore. The bottom was a fine sand and when moor'd
one extreme of Hapaee bore the other the S end of
Fóá the north end of Lai'fooga and the island
609 Loo'hoggo off Ha'ano.[4] Immediately after anchoring many Canoes
434 came off and in a short time there was above a hundred about the
two ships with those that were constantly going to and coming from
the shore. They brought off fruits and several hogs which they
barterd in the same manner as the people at Annamooka, and indeed
we found that many of them had been at that place while we lay there.

114 The Captain went on shore at the N part of Lai'fooga a little to the
right of where the ship lay and found the landing place very convenient
except at low water, when the Boats cannot get close in for a
634 flat that runs some way off and is dry at that time. We found that the
people here paid rather still more respect to Feenou than at Annamooka,
and no person seem'd to have equal authority to him as they
seem'd to do what ever he directed with the greatest readiness.

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[1] Ofolanga, the northernmost of the Ha'apai group.

[2] Puhi: it is inside the Ofolanga reef.

[3] Vava'u.

[4] Cook is more precise about the position, p. 105 above.

SUNDAY 18th. The wind E . Moderate breezes with good weather. 114
The Gunner was employ'd to trade on shore and purchas'd a good
many hogs, plantanes &c but the greatest supply we had was a 439
present which Fee'nou made the Captain of a vast quantity of Yams, [634]
Plantanes, Sugar cane &c and two hogs, which was shar'd between
the two ships. Amongst other things we purchas'd yesterday a fine [431]
green Turtle of above 300 Lib., & to day the decks were so crowded [648]
with the natives who came to barter or were incited by curiosity that
it was almost impossible to stir. [609]

MONDAY 19th. The wind Easterly. Gentle breezes with fine weather. [132]
We continued to barter with the natives on shore as yesterday and a
great number were on board.

As we wanted to obtain some knowledge of the country some of us 609
mention'd it to Fee'nou, who sent a person as a guide and to protect
us from any insult from the natives. We travers'd nearly the whole 114
island of Lai'fooga and found it in several respects superior to Annamooka.
The plantations were both more numerous and extensive and 311
we found large spots well planted with the Morus papyrifera (paper
Mulberry),[1] but in many places towards the sea, especially on the east
side, the country is still waste owing perhaps to the sandy soil, as it is
much lower than Annamooka or its surrounding isles. Towards the [134]
middle of the island the soil is better and much better inhabited than
the other parts, for we met here with very large plantations, fenc'd in [162]
in such a manner that the fences running parallel to each other form'd [241]
fine spacious roads that would appear an ornament in the most [417]
civilizd countrys. It however labours under the inconvenience of [487]
having no good water that we could see, for though we found several
ponds the water was either very brackish or stinking, and in some 312
large holes in the coral rock which is seldom above two or three feet
from the surface it was no better than common sea water. At one 223
place we saw an artificial mount rais'd to a considerable height with
an arbour of low trees neatly contriv'd, under which our guide made 349
us understand people sate to catch pigeons.[2] At another place was a
house four or five times as large as the common sort with a large area 344
of grass before it which seem'd a place for the people to resort 764
publickly to;[3] and near the landing place we saw one of their burying 349
grounds, which was a mount two or three feet high coverd with
gravel and had four or five small huts on it, in which they said the
bodys of some of their principle people were interr'd.[4] Most of the 000

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[1] *Broussonetia papyrifera*, Tongan Hiapo.

[2] Tongan *mala'e*.

[3] One of the mounds called *sialupe*.

[4] A *fa'itoka*.

detain'd untill they should bring another which they had promis'd yesterday. 648

SATURDAY 24th. The wind E. Moderate breezes with fine weather but at night calm with rain. Our boats were employ'd in watering to day which they took from a pond of a bad sort near the point to the right of the anchoring place. A spit runs out from it round which the boats must go or else the casks must be rolld over a reef on the nearest side. 132 114

A report was spread about by some of the Indians that a Europæan ship had arriv'd at Anna'mooka since we left it, which gain'd ground so fast that the Captain went on shore in the afternoon in quest of the man who it was said had brought the report: but he could get no certain intelligence and one man who it was said left it only this morning flatly denied it, though it seems the other was so particular as to describe the size of the ship & said there had been a boat on shore from her at the watering place. 648

SUNDAY 25th. The wind S or SbW. Moderate breezes with fine weather. Few Indians have come off these two days and their spare provisions seem almost exhausted, as they bring few things to sell except their houshold furniture such as Matts, cloth, baskets &ca. 132 439

MONDAY 26th. The wind ESE and Ebs. Gentle breezes with very fine weather. In the morning we unmoord and at eleven in the forenoon weigh'd and saild along the West side of Laifooga nearly SbW (an[d] SSW?) about two miles off, passing between some shoals without us and some others that lay nearer the shore where there are good soundings from twelve to fifteen fathom. Between twelve and one we bore away a little for a shoal near the S end of Laifooga, but afterwards hauld up for the opening between that and Hoo'laiva which are join'd together by a reef as the others. At one we tack'd as there was some appearance of shoal water a-head, and standing in again came to an anchor between two and three off the S part of Laifooga in 18 fathom a coral sand bottom, the point bearing SEbE a mile and a half distant. The Discovery was a considerable time of weighing after us and found much more difficulty in getting up, as it was near dark before she anchor'd and had touch'd on a small Coral rock in her passage. 132 114

TUESDAY 27. The wind SE and ESE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather and sometimes a little rain. The master was sent with two boats to sound for a passage to the Soward between Hoo'laiva and Longa'hoo,[1] [132]

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[1] Luangahu.

114 which is the small isle next to it, that we might go in a direct course
for Anna'mooka and found it safe as far as he went.

On a report of the Indians that Hoolaiva though almost as large
311 as Lai'fooga was neither inhabited nor cultivated I went on shore to
[225] see it, and found their account true, for there is neither the least mark
[226] of culture or habitation upon it except one hut where a person resides
to catch fish and Turtle. It is rather uncommon that it should be in
this situation when that next to it is so perfectly cultivated and the
inhabitants can walk from one to the other at low water, for though
the soil is quite sandy and there is not good water upon it why might
not the Cocoa palms, an article so usefull here (and which thrive in
the midst of sand), be planted or indeed other articles, for it produces
all the trees and plants found in a natural state on the other islands
133 with the greatest vigour. The east side has a reef like Lai'fooga from
whence we could see no island except Ta'taffa, and the west side has
349 a bending at the N part where there seems good anchorage. We found
an artificial mount like that at Hapaee raisd as high as some of the
223 surrounding trees with an arbour upon it for catching Pigeons.

Three large sailing Canoes with people who seem'd strangers has
643 come to the ship, in one of which was a person nam'd Futta'faihe[1] or
Poulaho who said he was chief of Amsterdam & all the islands we
[634] had seen or heard of. On mentioning that Feenou had pass'd as such
with us, he said that he was indeed a person of power in Amsterdam
and often sent on warlike expeditions to the other isles but deny'd his
643 being first in rank. If weight of body could give weight in rank or
142 power Poulaho was certainly the most eminent man in that respect
we had seen, for though not very tall he was of a monstrous size with
[644] fat which render'd him very unwieldy and almost shapeless. He had
straight hair and his features differ'd a good deal from the bulk of the
[576] people; but these differences would not have been sufficient to convince us of his superior rank had we not seen some marks of respect
paid him to which we were strangers, for on giving him something to
eat two of his attendants fed him and the rest turn'd their backs while
643 he was eating. He made the Captain a present of a hog or two and a
[648] quantity of red feathers which he had heard we esteem'd, and in
return he had a piece of printed linnen and some other things. In the
[431] evening he went on shore to Laifooga, and to show that his corpulence
[501] had not render'd him wholly inactive he took a large paddle with
which they scull in the fore part of the boat and handled it dexterously enough, but he soon tir'd of the excercise. The Captain went on
[177] shore after him and found that all the people on shore brought in the
[434]

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[1] Fatafehi.

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643 relation of his, who is superior in rank to himself but has little power.
[644] He is about forty and seems a sensible man from the many shrewd
questions he ask'd, amongst which was the reason of our coming
[648] amongst the isles &c. He already left off exacting that sort of homage
[644] as feeding him and turning their backs to him while he ate, which
was done perhaps only to show us his consequence, but neither of the
576 two that was with him would eat or drink in his presence though one
[177] of them is his brother nam'd Futta'faihe. He seem'd to be the most
unprejudic'd person imaginable, eating any thing dress'd in our way
and drinking wine with as much indifference as if us'd to it daily.

132 THURSDAY 29. Gentle breezes of wind from the Eastward in the morning with cloudy weather but in the afternoon the wind SSW and S. Modt breezes with cloudy weather. Some swell from the eastward.

Between seven and eight in the morning we weigh'd and steerd
114 WNW, as we were not sure that the passage found by the boats continued to Anna'mooka where we intended to touch. At first we made little progress and pass'd at a distance from Longa'hoo and Kakka'watta,[1] two islands next to Hoo'laiva (to the westward of which last place and off its S part are some shoals), leaving them on the left and afterwards pass'd between Lo'fango and Mong'onne as we had done on coming to Ha'paee. We had also on the left two small Islands call'd Ongoo,goo'boole[2] & Mai'amma,[3] off which lyes several shoals, but when the wind shifted we haul'd close up and at night were abreast of Nee'neeva standing on towards Fotoo'háá.

648 Poulaho follow'd us and came on board but in the afternoon went
on shore to Lo'fango. Three more large Canoes follow'd us in one of
643 which came Too'bou, a person of some consequence at Amsterdam,
[431] who made a present of a hog with some other things and staid on
[644] board, as well as Futtafaihe and six or seven of Poulahos attendants.

132 FRIDAY 30th. The wind SSE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather and
some small rain in the morning. Before day light we made short boards
114 and with great difficulty kept clear of some reefs near Nee'neeva,
which could not be seen till quite near them as it was very dark, so
that at one time we were oblig'd to fire two swivels to let the Dis-
[133] covery know the danger. At seven in the morning were very near
Fotoo'háá (between which & Nee'neeva we had been working in the
night) which is quite steep at this place and rather higher than the
other isles near it, being to appearance twenty feet or more perpen-
dicular with no soundings off it in less than   fathom and seems
[133] but indifferently cultivated. The rest of the day we kept turning to
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[1] Hakau'ata.

[2] Nukupule.

[3] Meama.

windward and in the evening were close in with 'Kotoo[1] (the next 114
isle to Toofòá), which with the shoal that lyes to the NW of it and the
other islands mention'd the day we left Anna'mooka form a good [32]
defence from the S°ly wind which now blew, but though we intended [33]
to anchor found no ground with less than fifty fathom close in, so that we brought to with the maintopsail to the mast at six o clock, and also the Discovery, but afterwards stood off and on having scarcely made three leagues to windward all day. In the middle watch this morning one of our people fell from the jib-boom into the sea but luckily caught hold of a rope as the ship had not much way.

Two or three Canoes came off from the islands with some Yams [439]
and bread fruit, though it blew fresh, and the nine whom we have on
board seem not to have the least apprehension of danger from being [821]
drove off by a strong wind or any other accident.

SATURDAY 31. *Lat.* Obs. 19:49:34 S. The wind SE and ESE. Fresh 132
breezes which increas'd to a brisk gale towards night with dark cloudy weather. A moderate sea. Before day light we stood between
Kotoo and the isles east from it making several tacks so that we kept 114
nearly in our station. At day light we stood pretty close in with it, thinking there might be a passage between it and the reef which is calld Ko'koppo[2] to the S°ward, but being doubtfull about it we bore away round the NW point of the reef (which extends a good way to the SE) and then haul'd our wind. We made several boards in the day but gaind very little, as we only just made the point of the reef again in the evening, & the sea being smoother here we stood in again to our last nights station and made short boards.

[JUNE 1777]

SUNDAY JUNE 1st. The wind ESE and E. Fresh breezes and some brisk 132
squalls in the forenoon but afterwards rather more moderate. The weather dark and cloudy with a good deal of rain in the forenoon and
afterwards some flying showers. Before day light we stood between 114
Kotoo and Fotoo'háà but our coming into this place for smooth water had like to have cost us dear, as we almost run on a shole that lyes to the eastward of a small sandy island with a single bush call'd Pootoo Poo'tooa[3] near Ha'faiva about three in the morning. As it was very dark and blowing fresh we were close upon it before it was perceiv'd so that the only method left to save the ship was to throw all a-back, which being done very quickly she wore round though then to appearance scarcely two or three times her length from the broken

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[1] Kotu.

[2] Hakau Kopau.

[3] Putuputua.

[1777]

114 water, and we had an oppurtunity time enough to warn our consort
of the danger by firing three swivels.

In the fore noon we attempted to work up towards Hafaiva (which
is the largest isle hereabouts) between Pootoo poo'tooa & a shoal that
lyes NE from Kotoo, but making little progress and the same weather
being likely to continue, we came to an anchor at noon in fifty
fathom a coarse sandy bottom about a mile wbN from Pootoo
poo'tooa, Fotooháá bearing nearly NNE, Kotoo swbs, and the shoal
to the NE of it SSE and SE. The Discovery also came to soon after a
[439] little to the NE of us. Several Canoes came off from Ha'faiva with
Cocoa nuts & Plantanes and in the morning we sent the pinnace on
[481] shore to Kotoo with our Indian guests, who were so heartily tir'd of
their short Voy[age] that they had once prepar'd themselves to swim
[262] to it. Their greatest distress was with respect to their food, for they
were not fond of Pork dress'd after our manner and liv'd chiefly on
Yams. In the evening we caught a large Snapper of twelve or fourteen
Lib. and a Grooper of the same size.

132 MONDAY 2^d^. The wind SE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather in the
forenoon, but afterwards clearer. In the forenoon the Captain went
648 on shore to Kotoo, which is scarcely accessible to boats from the coral
reefs that surround it. It is not more than a mile and a half or two
133 mile long and not so broad. The NW end is low like the islands of
Hapaee, but it rises suddenly in the middle and terminates in reddish
clayey cliffs at the SE end about thirty feet high. The soil thereabouts
is of the same sort as in the cliffs but in the other parts it is a loose
[311] black mould. It produces the same things as the other islands and is
[162] tolerably cultivated but is thinly inhabited. We saw Annamooka
from the highest part of it and the Capt^n^ thought he perceivd a clear
137 passage about Toong'ooa and the other isles towards that place. Our
people were employ'd in cutting some grass for the cattle and we
177 planted some Melon seeds with which the natives seem'd much
pleas'd and inclos'd them with branches. On our return to the boat
312 we met with two or three ponds of water but it was very salt, and
764 near them was one of their burying places that was much neater than
those which were seen at Hapaee.

Several Canoes came from the different islands to barter their cocoa
439 nuts, plantanes &c and we observ'd that almost all of them as well as
164 the inhabitants of Kotoo were affected with a violent cough and
slight sore throat, which also made its appearance on board for two
days past, perhaps from the sudden change to and continuance of the
bad weather.

The master was sent in the cutter to see if there was a passage 114
between the large reef Ko'koppo and 'Kotoo but though he found it
clear it was so narrow as not to be worth hazarding the working 133
through it for all that could be gain'd.

TUESDAY 3d. The wind SE. Fresh breezes with fine weather. The [132]
master was sent with the cutter to try and find a good passage between Poo'too pootooa and the reef to the SE of us into Ha'faiva but found it would be better to go in to the eastward of Pootoo poo'tooa, though even there it is narrow. He found good anchoring at Ha'faiva but says to the S^{o}ward of that about Matoogoo & the other isles there are a great number of small detach'd shoals which would make it almost impossible to get to the S^{o}ward that way, though the Captain
thought he saw it clear yesterday from 'Kotoo. He sail'd round [312]
Hafaiva, landed and found it a pleasant island but the water which
stood in a pond was little better than that at the other isles. We had a 643
visit from Poulaho in the forenoon who has follow'd us closely from
Hapaee and slept at one or other of the islands every night. He 648
brought a present of bread fruit which seems all these small islands [431]
can now afford, & to be nearer us he has mov'd from Ha'faiva to
Kotoo with two large Canoes since yesterday. He approv'd much of our going to Amsterdam from the time it was first mention'd, and presses Omaee who has been ashore with him these two nights to stay at Amsterdam.

WEDNESDAY 4th. The wind ESE or EbS. Fresh breezes and sometimes 132
brisk squalls during which it generally veer'd to EbN. The weather
cloudy and sometimes showers of rain. A considerable sea. In the 114
morning between seven and eight we weigh'd and stood up round
the NW part of the reef off Kotoo and then hauld close to the S^{o}ward.
We soon came in sight of Anna'mooka and at noon were abreast of it, 114
passing to the Eastward of a large shoal that lyes three leagues west
from it. At one afternoon we tackd and then made several boards but 133
could not fetch the island, the N part of which bore ENE five or six miles distant in the dusk of the evening and the S part of Annamooka'eeke SEbE.

The Discovery could not weather the shoal which oblig'd her to 114
make a stretch to the N^{o}ward, by which she fell so far to leeward that
we could scarcely see her in the evening. Saw several Terns, Shear- [136]
waters, and a good many flying fish in the passage.

THURSDAY 5th. The wind ESE. Strong breezes or brisk gales with 132
dark cloudy weather. A considerable sea. Before day light we kept
turning making boards of about two hours and at dawn the N part of 114

114 Annamooka bore the island on this side making in two or
three low hummocks. Between eight and nine we anchord in the
same spot we left on going to Hapaee but the Discovery was still
three or four leagues to leeward and did not get up till three in the
afternoon.

439 The Captain went on shore before and after dinner and the natives
to about the number of two hundred assembled on the beach &
traded with as much eagerness, if not more so, than if we had not
[241] been there before. Their stock appear'd to have been recruited much
in our short absence but instead of bread fruit, which was the only
article we could purchase on our first arrival, nothing was to be seen
now but yams & a few plantanes, which shows the quick succession
of the seasons or at least the different Vegetables produc'd at the
164 several times of the year. We found the cold mention'd at Kotoo quite
universal here & seems a disorder they are not much acquainted
634 with. These people in the absence of Toobou whom we left at Kotoo
seem to be under little subordination, for we could not perceive to
166 day that one man assum'd more authority than another. It appears
also that a great many of the principle men and women whom we
saw here at first had come from the other isles, as few or none were
seen now.

182 FRIDAY 6th. The wind E and ENE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather
in the forenoon but afterwards clearer and more moderate. Very few
439 Indians came off to the ship but they traded on shore as usual, which
brought us a seasonable supply as our Vegetables were almost
634 exhausted (though we had plenty of hogs) on coming in here. In the
afternoon a large Canoe came with Feenou, who reported that
648 several Canoes which he was bringing with hogs and other things
from Va'vaoo were lost in the late strong winds. We were now too
well acquainted with his character to give much credit to such a story
but easily overlook'd it from the service he had been of to us before.
[643] The truth probably was that he found himself unable to procure the
things at Va'vaoo which he expected, or if he did get any and heard
at Hapaee which lay in his way back that Poulaho had been with us
he might leave them there, as he doubtless knew the merit of procuring them would have fallen to the share of his superior though he
had been at the trouble. He was however in that case obligd to frame
a story, that it should not appear he had broke his promise to Captn
[643] Cook and to procure him a civil reception at his return. He seem'd to
be sensible of the error he had committed in assuming the character
of the first person in the country, as he not only acknowledg'd

Poulaho to be King of Amsterdam & the other isles but seem'd to 634
insist very much upon it, perhaps from a fear of offending the other 648
when he should hear of his former presumption. 643

The inhabitants have been very busy in cultivating while we were
absent for they have made several large Plantane fields in places that 245
were waste at first. We observ'd here as well as at Kotoo a good many
of the small hillocks where the Yams are planted strew'd with a little 244
white sand, which they say are those intended for the use of the chief. 565
The Melons which the Capt^{n} sow'd here have come up but are mostly 137
eat by small insects & some of the Pine apples left with Toobou seem
to be in a thriving state. 177

SATURDAY 7th. The wind ENE. Fresh breezes with fine clear weather. 241
In the forenoon Poulaho came from Kotoo and we could at once see 132
his superiority to Feenou on meeting him, for the last plac'd himself
down in the circle that sat before Poulaho as an indifferent person. 643
He seem'd at first rather abash'd as some of us were present who had 634
been us'd to see him as a different person, but he soon recover'd [576]
himself & both he and Poulaho went on board with the Captain. He
behav'd there much as any of the others that attended Poulaho, [644]
saluting his foot with his head and hands and could not ther[e] eat [576]
nor drink before him.

A few Canoes came off to the ship but we had less trade on shore 439
than yesterday as most of the people went away when Poulaho
landed. 643

Some of the Indians stole three glasses belonging to the Astronomical
Quadrant while M^{r} King was observing on the beach, but 648
they were soon recoverd by applying to Feenou who had been very 634
usefull to us before when things were stole both here and at Ha'paee.

SUNDAY 8th. The wind ENE and NE. Moderate breezes but at night 132
rather gentle. The weather fine. A moderate sea. Between eight and
nine in the morning we weigh'd and left Annamooka steering sbw 114
for the island Amsterdam. The islands to the SE of Annamooka which 133
we had on our left are first Mango'eeke, Mango, Tonoo'maia,
Ko'noogoo and Falla'fa'jeea.[1] There is also a very small one off 103
Kon'oogoo call'd Gefoo'ganna[2] from which runs a large shoal nam'd
Ko'foonga'lillo.[3] In the evening between five and six we saw two
islets or rocks bearing W about four leagues, the N^{o}ermost call'd
Hoonga ha'paee and the other Hoonga'tonga.[4] The first has only five 162

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[1] Kelefesia.

[2] Kefikana, a conspicuous white rock.

[3] I cannot identify this shoal.

[4] Hunga Ha'apai and Hunga Tonga.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

162 men living upon it according to two Indians we carry'd with us, and the other is uninhabited but both abound in sea fowl.

648 Poulaho and Feenou set out with us in different Canoes attended
634 by several others but they soon outsaild us and in the evening steerd
more westerly than we.

643
MONDAY 9th. *Lat.* Obs. 21.04 S. The wind NE and NNE. Gentle breezes
132 and in the forenoon almost calm. The weather very fine but hot.

In the morning at day light we saw Amsterdam or as the natives
114 call it Tonga'taboo though much oftener simply Tonga, and some
103 small isles that lye off it, but we had made little progress in the night
as Hoonga Ha'paee and Hoonga'Tonga were still seen astern. The isles on the left or to the Etward as we steerd sbw, reckoning from the Noermost were 'Taoo, A'tåå, Eoo'èeegee, Motoo'taboo, ennevy, Noogoo or Fook'avee, E'ooa[1] or Middleburg appearing over the E part of Tonga and Malee'nóå[2] a very small one but a little to the left. There was also a shoal call'd Tanga ma'noonee to the Wtward of Eoo'eegee and another call'd Tooa'onne[3] lying E of Malee'nóå.

On the right or to the westward was a shole call'd Ha'kou ma'måò,[4] lying without the first islet nam'd Atta'tåå[5] which appear'd now within the west end of Tonga. The second is Too'fagga[6] which was a very little to the right, and within Atta'tóå are two small ones, the larger or inner call'd Ho'lóå[7] and the other which is close to it Laggebai'ou.[8] A-head there were several Islets as Vaille tóå'neeoo, Vaille toa'hagge[9] and Mon'ooafai,[10] all small besides Fa'fåå,[11] a little larger, and within that Makka'haa.[12]

114 The pinnace was hoisted out and sent to sound as we had only 25
fathom, the extremes of Tonga at eight o clock bearing &
133 . At ten we were passing over a flat of Coral rock and small
patches of sand which could easily be seen with eight and ten fathom, and not long after had sometimes but six or seven. We had pass'd Maleenóå about a mile when we found the Ship touch on the rock, but without much violence as the breeze was gentle and the water

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[1] The foregoing are Tau, Ata, 'Eua Iki, Motu Tapu, 'Onevai, Nuku, Fukave (these last two different islands), 'Eua.

[2] Malinoa.

[3] These two names may exist still in local knowledge, but do not come on to the charts or into Gifford's *Tongan Place Names* (Honolulu, 1923).

[4] Hakaumamao. The name means 'distant reef'.

[5] Atata.

[6] Tufaka.

[7] Polo'a.

[8] Alakipeau.

[9] These two islets are now referred to as one, Velitoa; they are separated by only a few yards of water, wadeable at low tide. The two names given by Anderson may refer to their appearance: Velitoa-nifo—'Velitoa with the teeth', and Velitoa-hake—'Velitoa that rises up'. Anderson's versions of the names are borne out by the engraved chart, pl. XIX in *Voyage*, I; but Gifford, *Tongan Place Names*, p. 257, gives them as Velitoahihifo, (Western Velitoa) and Velitoahahake (Eastern Velitoa).

[10] Monu afe.

[11] Fafa.

[12] Makaha'a.

perfectly smooth, immediately after which the water deepened and 114
shoal'd several times but again deepened with a sandy bottom, and at
eleven we anchor'd in 7 fathom, the western extreme of Tonga [133]
bearing the east end , Fa'fâà SEbS a mile and a half
and Malee'nôà NE above two miles distant. We found the Discovery
on following us also struck and stuck fast for a little time, but could
receive no hurt as the weather was so moderate. The other boats were
hoisted out & a little after noon three of them with two from the
Discovery were sent to sound in shore. Between four & five they made
the signal for having found anchorage, when we weighd and stood
in SSW but anchor'd again before six in 3½ fathom, one extreme of
Tonga bearing the other off shore about two miles.

In the afternoon we had a visit from Poulaho and Feenou, and a 643
few small Canoes came off & barter'd fruit & fowls, but they had 634
been so well instructed by those from the other isles that they ask'd a 439
very extravagant price for every article.

TUESDAY 10th. The wind S and SSW. Gentle breezes with dull cloudy 132
weather and some rain early in the morning. Soon after daylight we
weigh'd and work'd in between the island Ko'lôà and a shoal lying 114
to the westward of Makka'hâà call'd Gooa'langa, where we had
from to fathom within which is a smaller shoal that our boats 133
had overlook'd last night. Both these sholes are dry at low water. We
work'd on and about one in the afternoon anchor'd very near Pakâè, 114
or Pang'ia-motoo,[1] a small island within Makkahâà, between it and 133
the shore of Tonga in fathom fine sandy bottom. Within it are 103
three isles nam'd Maneema, Onne'atta and Hôôlaiva[2] all joind by a
reef, the last of which is only seperated from the main by a narrow
creek. These form'd a perfect defence to the eastward, and the shoals 114
we had pass'd, which lye to the NW with Tonga to the S and westward, 133
altogether made a harbour entirely sheltered from all winds and sea.
When moord Pangiamotoo bore , a point of Tonga to the
westward , and another which bounds one side of the creek
of Hôô'laiva . Our Consort came to an anchor soon after
between us and the main about a mile from the shore.

The Captain went on shore after dinner to the points opposite 114
Hôô'laiva, and a very little from it found a convenient place for 439
pitching a tent near a good house with a large open Area before it;
but few people were seen though above a hundred Canoes were about

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[1] Pangaimotu.

[2] The first two of these three are Manima and 'Oneata, lying on the same reef as Makaha'a and Pangaimotu. The third must have been then called Uoleva; it is now Nukunuku.

114 the two Ships while working in, with whom we traded for hogs, fowls
439 & vegetables only as the other articles had been prohibited by the
Captain as at Annamooka.

132 WEDNESDAY 11th. The wind SE. Moderate breezes with cloudy
weather. In the forenoon we pitch'd a tent just by the house men-
114 tion'd yesterday, which is almost the only one here as the country
[311] near it is not at all cultivated. The horses cattle & sheep &c were
afterwards sent on shore and a party of marines with their officer to
312 protect the people. We discoverd two or three ponds near the place
but they had all very bad water, though we found one on Pang'ia
motoo that had rather fresher water than any we have met with
amongst the islands, but rather dirty from the little care taken of it
by the natives.

439 A good many Canoes came off & barterd Yams, Cocoa nuts and
a few hogs but they were not near so numerous as yesterday, though
we expected a much brisker trade here than any place we had been
at from its greater extent.

132 THURSDAY 12th. The wind SE. Gentle breezes with very fine weather.
On the evening we arriv'd here the Captain brought on board a
648 person who had attach'd himself to him as a friend when he touch'd
at this island in 1773, and another who had done the same with
643 Captn Furneaux, who commanded the Adventure. Amongst other
[887] things they mention'd a person nam'd Maree'wagee,[1] who they said
was of the first consequence in the place and as they were understood
superior to Poulaho, to whom he was related, but so old that he liv'd
643 in retirement and yet was held in great veneration. It excited his
648 curiosity so much that he proposd yesterday to Poulaho that he
should pay him a visit, which the other readily agreed to and offer'd
to accompany him, at the same time saying he would send previous
notice to Maree'wagee that such a visit was intended him. The
Captain accordingly set out in the pinnace this morning carrying
some things with him as a present, and Captn Clarke joind him in
643 one of his own boats. We went round Makka'háá to the eastward, and
648 then turning to the SEward according to Poulahos directions row'd
up into a spacious bay whose entrance from the east side of Hóólaiva
133 to the opposite point seems to be about two miles, the breadth within
that three and the depth near four, but it was so full of shoals that we
found it difficult to get up with the boats. The east and west sides are
low, with some creeks running into the last farther than we could see
edgd with mangroves, but at the bottom or SE part the land rises to

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[1] Maealiuaki.

some height. We row'd to the last place and landed amongst a 643
considerable number of people, who receivd us with a sort of acclama-
tion not unlike our huzzaing, as most of them had probably never 648
seen a Europæan before and apparently had collected for that [133]
purpose. They immediately seperated to let Poulaho pass, who took [609]
us into a small inclosure and shifted the piece of cloth he wore for a
new piece neatly folded that was carried by a young man. An old [576]
woman assisted in dressing him and put a mat over his cloth, as we [292]
supposd to prevent its being dirtied when he sat down, but to our
great surprize on asking where Mareewagee was he said he had gone
from the place just before we arriv'd to the ship. He however desir'd [344]
us to walk with him up to a Ma'laee (a house of public resort or
perhaps worship)[1] which was near half a mile up, but when we came to
a large Area before it he sat down in the path and desird us to walk
to the house, which we did & sat down in front while the crowd that
followd us fill'd up the rest.

After sitting a little while Omaee went to enquire if he meant we
should see Mareewagee, but he either not understanding him or
interpreting his answer into an equivocal one we walkd about a little
and the Captain then ask'd to see his house, which he seem'd averse
to though he promis'd it before; upon which suspecting we should
not be able to see the person we went back to the boat, & just at our
departure three men with leaves strung about their necks sat down
near Poulaho and began to repeat something with a serious air which
we did not stay to hear finish'd. We also met several people coming [431]
with Baskets of Yams & hogs which were sent to the boat after us,
but the Capt^{n} was so chagrin'd at his disappointment that he would
not receive them nor a bale of cloth that was sent after us by a Canoe.

It is difficult to tell whether our disappointment was only acciden-
tal or designed by Poulaho, for on enquiring at our return to the ship
no such person as Mareewagee had been there. I am however inclin'd [123]
to think it arose partly from our not understanding them perfectly,
and that had we waited a sufficient time we might perhaps have seen
the old man, as they mention'd some thing about a chief who would
come presently when they found us determind to go away.

The small tent for making Astronomical observations, with that 114
from the Discovery, were fixd to day immediately on the point at no
great distance from the other tent. A pretty brisk trade for provisions 439
carried on with the natives, a great many of whom came off to the
ship.

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[1] It was not the house that was the *mala'e*, but the cleared space in front of it; and the Tongan *mala'e* was not a place of worship.

132 FRIDAY 13th. Calm almost the whole day with dull weather and
rather warm. Some of our people employ'd in wooding, some about
114 the tent in looking after the cattle and other things, others in cleaning
out the watering place at Pang'ia motoo and the sail makers in
439 repairing sails. A considerable number of Canoes came off with
Yams, hogs &c and the Gunner was employ'd bartering for these
articles on shore, to which the large space before the tent was well
adapted.

643 In the afternoon the Captain went to visit Maree'wagee who he
was inform'd had come for that purpose, perhaps from the displeasure
648 shown yesterday at our disappointment. We found a person sitting
under a large tree near the shore a little to the right of the tent, with a piece of cloth at least forty yards long spread before him, but were informd that another that sat a little way from him to the right on a piece of Mat was Maree'wagee. Omai who interpreted, though very indifferently, inform'd him of the reason of our coming to this island which he seem'd to approve but said very little, another person on his right hand repeating most of the things Omai said. The Captain then made him a present of a hanger, a piece of printed cloth, with some other triffling things, and Captain Clarke gave him a large necklace of beads which they esteem very much, both which he receiv'd with few marks either of displeasure or satisfaction. The other chief who we understand was Too'bou, a man we had heard of at all the other places as a person of very great power, was presented with a piece of Gauze and a few other things which he seem'd to regard but little, after which we entertain'd them for an hour with two french horns and a drum, but they were most pleas'd with the firing off a pistol which Captn Clarke had in his pocket. They presented Captn Cook with the large piece of cloth, and the visit ended with an invitation to both the chiefs to come on board the Ships tomorrow which they readily consented to.

643 Mareewagee is a slender man and from his appearance seems to be
considerably above three score. There was no particular mark of
respect paid him by any person present, nor had he any external
appearance in dress to distinguish him by. The large crowd of people
that were about us might indeed be consider'd as a proof of his con-
sequence, if he orderd them to attend, but of that we are uncertain;
and yet he is certainly a man very much esteemd as the people all
say he is Mo'tooa Tonga, which is to say Father of Tonga or of his
[164] country.[1] Too'bou seems about fifty, rather corpulent and almost

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[1] Anderson's interpretation is probably correct: *motua* is a word of wide significance—an 'elder', a parent, especially father.

blind with a disorder of his Eyes. It is probable he precedes the other 643
in rank as he certainly posses'd what we might call the seat of honour,
sitting under the tree and fronting us as we walk'd up, while the other [164]
sat aside, and indeed it appeard that he was rather disappointed by
our addressing Mareewagee first & paying most attention to him.

SATURDAY 14th. The wind Southerly. Gentle breezes with fine 132
weather. The people on shore employ'd as before & those on board
mostly in the hold. The natives brought a good deal of fruit and some 114
hogs off & a brisk trade is carried on at the tent. We had a visit from 439
Poulaho who now lives constantly at the house or Ma'laee by the
tent, I believe with an intention to superintend or see that no mischief 643
is done by his people. The Captain made him a present of some things 643
but neither of the other chiefs came off as they had promis'd yesterday. 648
He entertaind our people at night with a dance at the tent, and [535]
to the surprize of every body the unwieldy Poulaho endeavour'd to
vye with others in that active amusement.

A Canoe went to the Buoy where our boats lay and stole an iron 648
pin belonging to one of them, for which we confin'd one in irons who
was found in the Canoe though not the principal, but the iron being
return'd in the afternoon he was set at liberty.

SUNDAY 15th. The wind SE. Moderate breezes with fine weather. In 132
the forenoon some of us walk'd to the westward of the tent and found
the country totally uncultivated for near two miles, though quite 311
coverd with trees and bushes in a natural state growing with the
greatest vigour. Beyond this is a pretty large plain on which are some
Cocoa trees and a few small plantations that appear to have been
lately made, and seemingly on ground that has never been broke in
before, but it seems to preserve the same appearance still farther on.
We found that several of the principal people, as Maree'wagee, [342]
Too'bou, Fee'nou & some others had erected temporary huts to live [643]
in while they remaind here, near the path which leads through the [634]
uncultivated part immediately west of the tent. Near the creek which
runs to the eastward of the tent the land is quite flat and partly 133
overflown by the sea every tide. When that retires the surface is seen [136]
to be compos'd of coral rock with holes of a yellowish mud scatterd
up and down; and towards the edges where it is a little firmer are
innumerable little holes, from which issue as many small crabs of two
or three different sorts which cover the place as flies on a carcase, but
are so nimble that on ones approaching they disappear in an instant
and baffle even the natives to catch any of them.

At this place is an artificial work which shows these people have 349

349 some design and perseverance when they mean to accomplish any
thing. It begins on one side as a narrow Causeway, which becoming
gradually broader rises with a gentle ascent to the height of ten feet,
where it is five paces broad and the whole length 74 paces. Joind to
this is a sort of Circus or centre, whose diameter is thirty paces and
not above a foot or two higher than the causeway, that joins it with
some trees planted in the middle. On the opposite side to the Causeway
another of the same sort descends but is not more than forty
paces long, and partly fallen down. The whole is built of large Coral
stones with earth on its surface, which is quite overgrown with low
trees and shrubs and from its decaying in several places seems of no
modern date. Whatever may have been its use formerly it seems to be
of none now, and all that we could learn of it from the natives was
that it belongd to Poulaho and is call'd E'tchee.[1]

643 The Captain brought Mareewagee and Too'bou on board to
dinner and it was observ'd that these people, though of great rank,
648 paid the usual mark of submission by bowing the head & touching
644 the feet to a boy of twelve or fourteen[2] who is a son of Poulahos and is
576 intended to succeed his father as king of the isles.

132 MONDAY 16th. The wind SE? Fresh breezes with cloudy weather till
near the evening when it was more moderate and clearer. Our people
114 employ'd as before and as we were at work in the hold examind
some of the English bread which was found in very good condition.
439 The trade for provisions not so brisk as formerly.

132 TUESDAY 17th. The wind Easterly. Moderate breezes with fine weather.
In the morning when walking to the left of the tent we met several
643 hundreds of the natives each carrying a pole with a small yam at both
651 ends, and instead of these some had two or three bread fruit, which
482 they carried to a large space that had been clear'd away before
Mareewagees temporary hut, throwing them down and forming a
large heap which they call'd Ha'paee[3] on each side. Several also
brought a good many small fish stuck upon the points of the twigs of
some wither'd branches which they carried in their hands, and laid
535 down as an addition to the heaps. About eleven o clock they began
533 in the same clear space to exhibit various dances which they call
534 Mai,[4] the music consisting at first of seventy men as a Chorus, who sat
down and amongst them three instruments which we call'd Drums

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[1] An *esi* or 'rest mound'. [2] The boy called Fatafehi Fuanunuiava.

[192] [3] *'api'api*, crowded, full. It has nothing to do with the name of the island group. A road crowded with men, or a basket full of many things, would be called 'Api-api', says Mariner. Cf. Clerke's confusion, p. 102, n. 1 above.

[4] *me'e*.

weather. The people employ'd in wooding, mending sails &c as usual 132
on shore, & those on board in getting up the empty water casks &c.

In return for the entertainment we receiv'd yesterday a party of 114
marines were order'd to go through their excercise on the spot where 648
the dances were perform'd last night. Poulaho with the other prin-
cipal people were present, and all the spectators were well pleas'd 177
with the several motions when properly done, but they easily dis- [643]
cern'd the aukwardness of some of their monuvres which afforded
them matter for much mirth. They could not however help expressing
their surprize at some platoons that were tolerably exact, and still
more at the distance they saw the bullets fly to upon the water, but
they seem'd to pay little attention to the fife and drum or french
horns that play'd in the intervals.

In the evening we exhibited some fire works on the same spot,
which was convenient from being close to the water side, and they
express'd a considerable degree of wonder at some of them, especially
the water rockets and two false fires, the first of which some of them
were apprehensive would come on shore when they saw them change
their place so frequently in the water, and very seriously ask'd the
question. We found that the diversions which were shown us yester- 648
day had been done entirely by the orders of Mareewagee and 535
Toobou, for the two piles of Yams that lay in the ground where they
had been perform'd were given to Cap^{tn} Cook as a present (with 643
some pieces of cloth) and most probably were levy'd as a tribute for 431
that purpose, from the equality of what every man brought. 651

The circle of natives about the tent being pretty large they engag'd
the greatest part of the afternoon in boxing and wrestling, the first of 526
which they call Fanga'tooa, the other Foohoo.[1] When any of them
chuses to wrestle he gets up from one side of the ring, crosses the [201]
ground in a sort of [measured] pace clapping smartly on the elbow joint of one arm, which is bent, and produces a hollow sound that is reckon'd the challenge. If no person appears from the opposite side to engage him he returns in the same manner and sits down, but sometimes stands clapping in the midst of the ground to provoke some one to come out. If an opponent appears they come together with marks of the greatest good nature, generally smiling and taking time to adjust the piece of cloth they wear which is fastened about the waste. They then lay hold of each other by the piece of cloth, or a girdle which they sometimes wear, with a hand on each side and one endeavours to draw his antagonist to him, which if he is so lucky as to effect he immediately trys to lift him upon his breast and throw him

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[1] He has got the words reversed: *fuhu* is boxing, *fangatua* is wrestling.

their antagonist and give him another very smart one with the other 526
hand backwards. The boxing matches seldom last long, and the
partys either leave off together or one acknowledges his being beat
in that manner, but they never sing the victory in these cases unless
one strikes his antagonist to the ground, which shows that of the
two wrestling is their most approv'd diversion. Not only boys engage
as often as the men in both these excercises, but frequently little girls, [857]
who are generally mention'd by some person in the circle, box very
bitterly for a short time; in all which cases it does not appear that
they ever consider it as the smallest disgrace to be vanquish'd, and
the person overcome sits down with as much indifference as if he had
never enterd the lists. Some of our people ventur'd to contend with
them in both excercises, but were always worsted, except in a few
cases where it appear'd that the fear they were in of offending us
gain'd a greater share of the victory than the superiority of the
person who engag'd.

THURSDAY 19th. The weather pretty good but at night cloudy with 132
some showers of rain. Our people employ'd as usual. The Captain
made a distribution to day of the live stock he intended to leave here, 114
giving a heifer, bull and cow to Poulaho, a horse and mare to Feenou, 648
and a ram with two ewes to Mareewagee, at the same time time 177
giving directions how they should be rear'd and propogated: but 231
they did not show any particular marks of satisfaction as if they
considerd them a usefull acquisition.

FRIDAY 20th. The wind E or EbN. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather. 132
The people employ'd as usual. In the morning two of the Turkeys on
shore were missing, and upon suspicion that the Indians had stole 648
them the Captain confind Poulaho & Feenou with a guard at the 634
tent, and orderd a large Canoe that was along side the ship to be 643
detain'd; but they were soon releas'd on producing an axe and
wedge & one of the Turkeys that had been stolen before, with a
promise to restore the other Turkey.

SATURDAY 21st. The wind Easterly. Moderate breezes with fine 132
weather but at night a few showers and squalls. The Indians, many
of whom had been absent for two days from their being unable to 648
procure victuals upon the spot, collected in great numbers about the 431
tent and in the morning two large piles, each compos'd of the trunks
of four trees plac'd near [each] other in a square about thirty feet 643
high, were erected with pieces fastend across to get up by. These [349]
were fill'd to the top with large yams, and in the forenoon a number

648 of people brought a good many fish which were chiefly mullet, and
431 others carry'd small ones stuck on branches as at Mareewagees
though more numerous in a kind of procession. They also brought a
643 small Turtle and afterwards a great many more Yams, all of which
with a piece of cloth, a mat and bit of red feathers were given as a
648 present to the Captain by Poulaho, besides two hogs which were
535 carry'd up and fasten'd to crown the two piles of Yams. About one
o'clock they began the Mai or dances, the first of which was almost a
[643] copy of the first we saw at Mareewagees house. The second was conducted by the Toobou, who also danc'd there, and had four or five
women in it who went through the several parts with as much
exactness as the men. Towards the end they divided to leave room
for two men who excercis'd their clubs as mentioned in the first
648 dances, and in the third which was the last two more did the same.
526 The dances were succeeded by wrestling and boxing, and one man
entered the lists with a sort of club made from the stem of a Cocoa
411 leaf which is firm and heavy, but could not find one that would engage him at so rough a sport. At night we had the Bo'mai repeated,
535 in which Poulaho himself danc'd, but neither these nor the dances in
648 the day were so considerable or carried on with such spirit as those at
643 Mareewagees, which proves that in this as well as other countrys
there are private men able sometimes to give entertainments superior
to their Kings.

132 **SUNDAY 22.** The wind Easterly. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather.
The people unemployed. Some of our Gentlemen set out yesterday
114 morning to see the interior part of the island, and after walking some
[133] way met with a lake or Lagune which they cross'd in a Canoe, and is
probably an arm running from the Bay mentiond before to the westward as they did not see its communication with the sea. They then
[311] cross'd to the opposite side of the island, some parts of which they
[609] found very well cultivated, and stay'd all night but found the inhabitants not very willing to supply them with provisions though
[648] they treated them civilly in other respects. On returning back to day
one of them had his gun unexpectedly snatch'd from him by some of
the people that follow'd them, and another trusting a young man to
carry his lost it by the other setting off though he had carried it many
miles.

132 **MONDAY 23.** The wind from NE to NNW. Moderate breezes with dull
cloudy weather, a close air and in the evening a good deal of rain. In
114 the morning the cutter with the Master and the Discoverys cutter

were sent to sound for a passage that way to Middleburg. The people 114
employd as usual and the Launch in watering at Pangia-motoo.

TUESDAY 24. Calm in the morning and clear but afterwards light 132
breezes from the southward and then NE with cloudy weather. The two
boats return'd a little after noon and had been as far as the eastermost 114
isles lying off Tonga. They found a narrow passage between Makkahàá [133]
and Mon'ooafai to the eastward of which it is broader and beyond the
isles a clear sea to Middleburg. Few Canoes have been off these two days
and many of the large sailing ones have gone to some other place or
other islands. There has also been little trade carried on with the natives [439]
on shore.

WEDNESDAY 25th. The wind ESE or EbS. Moderate breezes with cloudy 132
weather. The people employ'd in bringing off yams of which we have a
great quantity on shore, wood &c. The cutter with the Discoverys and 114
the Master were sent to sound a passage to the westward in case we
should not be able to get out by the other but found the place we came
in by the only accessible one and that scarcely so should it happen not
to be very fine weather. Few Indians off at the ship and scarcely any on 439
shore nor do they bring any thing to barter. They have labour'd under
some apprehensions ever since the chiefs were confin'd and are now 648
very anxious about our departure as they see us making no preparations 643
to do it. Poulaho entertains the same notion as the other people and has [634]
had his Canoe riggd to set out for Vavaoo. He mention'd his fears to the
Captain who told him that we had no intention of staying & that if he
would carry him to his house in the country he would order the tent and
things to be carried off at their return which made him alter his resolution of going to Va'vaoo and promise to go to morrow.

In the morning about a pretty smart shock of an Earthquake 133
was said to be felt by several of our people on shore, which did not
last above three or four seconds but a tremulous motion & rumbling
noise continued several seconds after.

THURSDAY 26. The wind ESE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather in 132
the forenoon but afterwards clearer. In the morning the Captain set
out with Poulaho and we row'd up the bay where we had been 226
before, in which at one place was about twelve Canoes fishing in [648]
company, with Poulahos son & successor in one of them, either for [643]
his amusement or perhaps learning a necessary part of his education. [644]
Their method of fishing was by shooting a seine upon one of the
shoals and surrounding it with their Canoes, on which a man got out
from each and took a net of an oblong shape fastend by each side to a
slender pole of seven or eight feet long, with which every boat was

226 furnish'd, and wading up to the middle within the seine directed it
slowly under water where they saw any fish, and rais'd it up pretty
114 quickly, bringing the fish when the[y] caught any in it. We got a few
mullet from them & then row'd to the bottom of the bay where we
landed on going to see Mareewagge, from whence we proceeded to
764 Poulahos house which was but a little way off. Almost close by it we
found a Fya'tocka or burying place much more extensive and
seemingly of more consequence than any we had seen at the other
islands. It consisted of three pretty large houses situated on a rising
ground or rather just by the brink of it, with a small one at some
764 distance, all rangd longitudinally. The middle house of the three first
was by much the largest, and plac'd in a square 24 paces by twenty
349 eight raisd about three feet high, with the surface coverd with shingle
stones and the whole bounded by large flat stones of hard coral rock,
properly hewn, plac'd on their edges, one of which measur'd twelve
764 feet in length, two in breadth and above one in thickness. The others
were placd on little mounts rais'd artificially to the same height and
592 coverd with gravel, one of the huts, contrary to what we had seen
[349] before, being open on one side which we enterd & found coverd with
shingle, with two rude wooden busts of men, one at the entrance the
other farther in, the last of which from its appearance had been there
perhaps several ages. On calling to some of the natives who had
follow'd us to the ground but durst not enter here, to enquire what
they were intended for, they made us as sensible as we could wish that
they were merely memorials of some chiefs who had been buried
764 there.[1] A[t] the foot of the rising ground there is a large area or plat of
137 grass with different trees about it, amongst which are several of those
call'd Etòá very large, which resemble the Cypress & have a fine
effect in such a place. There is also a row of low palms near one of the
houses & behind them is a ditch in which was a vast number of old
baskets.

361 We travers'd the greatest part of the country about the bottom of
the Bay which is call'd Mooa,[2] and found it perfectly cultivated for
[311] above a mile back from the sea, and full of inclosures made by such
fences as were seen at Ha'paee but they were more extensive and had
[565] finer roads in the interspaces. The habitations within these inclosures
are very numerous and belong chiefly to some of the principal people
351 of the island, many of whom reside at this place. Each of them has a
342 proper entrance or door, generally higher than the fence & of a
417 sufficient breadth, which opens in the same manner as one properly
hung upon hinges, behind which is a pretty large spar that rests with

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[1] Cf. Cook, p. 139, n. 1 above.

[2] Mu'a.

249 branches considerably with large heart shap'd leaves and jointed
stalks. The root is the only part us'd, which being dug up is given to
276 the servants that attend, who breaking it in pieces scrape the dirt off
with a shell or bit of stick, and each begins & chews his portion which
[415] they spit into a bit of plantane leaf: and the person who is to prepare
[412] it collects all these mouthfulls and puts them into a large wooden dish
or bowl with three or four feet, & adds as much water as will make it
of a proper strength. It is then well mixd up with the hands, and some
loose stuff which mats are made of thrown on the surface, which
being turn'd in intercepts the fibrous part and is wrung hard to get
as much as possible out from it, when it is given to some of the bye
sitters who sometimes prepare a weaker sort from it for themselves by
276 chewing it again. They then begin to distribute it in little cups made
574 of a bit of plantane leaf tied at each end, but where the company is
large & respectable as our present one was the person who distributes
[415] it calls out to know who the servants shall carry it to, and is commonly
directed by one person belonging to the chief who gives the Kava.
Each person has a clean cup which they throw away as soon as it is
drank, and the quantity is commonly about a quarter of a pint,
though they sometimes venture on two cups if much has been made.
276 The immediate effect it produces is not perceptible on these people
who use it so frequently, but on some of ours who try'd it, though so
nastily prepar'd, it had the same power as spirits in making them
drunk, or rather producing that kind of stupefaction in consequence
of using Opium or other substances of that kind. It should be observ'd
at the same time that though they have it always fresh prepar'd—
and I have seen them drink it seven times before noon—it is nevertheless
so disagreeable or at least seems so that the greatest part of
them cannot swallow it without making wry faces and shuddering
afterwards.

114 After this we set out from Mooa and meeting several Canoes in our
way Poulaho calld to them and took what fish he pleas'd. We din'd
[643] on a small island call'd 'Onne'vy[1] about a league off the mouth of the
[312] bay, where Poulaho said there was good water but we found as was
said before that these people have very little knowledge of such a
[103] valuable article for there was none of it tolerable to us. This island is
311 quite in a natural state, being only frequented as a fishing place, and
has nearly the same productions as Palmerstons island with some
226 E'toá trees.

114 On returning to the ship we pass'd a curious large rock which
133 seems to have been thrown upon the reef where it stands by accident.

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[1] 'Onevai.

It rests upon a narrow base, the upper part projecting very consider- 114
ably, and is cover'd with E Toà and Pandanus trees. At night there
was a vast number of lights along shore to the westward which we [133]
suppos'd was the Indians fishing.

SATURDAY 28th. The morning calm but afterwards brisk breezes 132
from WNW with fine weather till the evening, when it veer'd to the
S^o^ward with drizzling rain. The people employ'd as usual.

Few Canoes off and all the Indians have left the place near the 648
tent except a few villains who are very troublesome & constantly
endeavouring to commit some petty theft. They were so audacious as to throw cocoa nuts at some of our people (which however might in a great measure be imputed to their own imprudence in admitting these people to childish Libertys with them at first) and threaten them with clubs, for which we seizd three of them, tied them to trees and flogg'd them very severely, afterwards cutting a large cross in the arm of one with a knife which was certainly the least excusable part of the punishment. One of them was also fird at in the morning for some flagrant attempt of the same kind by a centinel, who certainly hit him, as he was seen to be supported by several others after crossing the small creek near the place.

SUNDAY 29th. The wind E. Moderate breezes with good weather. The 132
people unemploy'd.

MONDAY 30th. The wind   . Gentle breezes with dull close weather and some small rain the afternoon.

Two of us went along with Futta'faihe as visitors to his house which 648
is at Mooa very near his brother Poulahos. A short time after we 643
arriv'd they kill'd a pretty large hog which is done by repeated
strokes on the head, and scrap'd the hair off very dexterously with the 252
sharp edge of pieces of split Bamboo, taking the entrails out at a large [231]
oval hole cut in the belly by the same simple instrument. Before this
they had prepar'd an oven which is a large hole dug in the earth, fill'd at the bottom with stones about the size of the fist, over which a fire is made till they are red hot. They took some of these stones wrap'd up in leaves of the bread fruit tree and fill'd the Hogs belly, stuffing in a quantity of leaves to prevent their falling out and put a plug of the same kind in the Anus. It was then put on some sticks laid across the stones in a standing posture and cover'd with a great quantity of Plantane leaves, after which they dug up the earth all
round and coverd it closely up, leaving it to bake in that manner. In 764
the mean time we walk'd about the country, but met with nothing

764 remarkable except a Fyatocka of one house standing on an artificial
mount at least thirty feet high. A little on one side there is a pretty
644 large open Area and not far from it a good deal of uncultivated
ground, which upon enquiring why it lay waste they seem'd to say
311 belong'd to that place which was Poulahos, and not by any means to
be touch'd. There was also at no great distance a number of E'toa
196 Trees on which clung millions of the large Ternate Bats[1] making a
disagreeable noise. We could not kill any at this time for want of
muskets, but some that were got at Anna'mooka measur'd near three
feet when the wings were extended.

On returning our host orderd the hog that had been dress'd to be
648 brought, with several baskets of bak'd yams and some Cocoa nuts,
574 but we found that instead of his entertaining us we were to entertain
264 him, the property of the feast being entirely transferr'd to us his
guests who were to dispose of it as we pleas'd. The person who cleand
[262] it in the morning cut it up (but not before we desird him) in a very
dexterous manner with a knife of split Bamboo, dividing the several
parts with such quickness and hit the joints so exactly that surpriz'd
us very much. The whole was set down before us, though at least fifty
pound weight, untill we took a small piece away and desir'd they
would share the rest amongst the people sitting round, but it was not
without a great many scruples they did that at last, and then ask'd
what particular people they should give it to. They were however
very well pleas'd when they found it not contrary to any custom of
ours, some carrying off the portion that was given them and others
eating it on the spot, but it was with great difficulty we could prevail
on Futtafaihe himself to eat a small bit.

After dinner we went with Futtafaihe and five or six people who
765 attended him to the same place where Poulaho had carried us in the
[114] morning the last time we were at Mooa, but not into the inclosure.
They hung some leaves about their neck in walking to it as he had
824 done, and when we came to a large open boat house where a few
people were they threw away their leaves, sat down before it and
[304] gave their cheeks a few gentle strokes with the fist, after which they
sat for about ten minutes with a very grave appearance & went away
[292] without having spoke a single word. Every person who went to this
house of mourning had a mat tied over the cloth they wore which
was also the case the day Poulaho went. This explaind what Poulaho
had mentiond about Tooge, though from the beating only lasting a
few seconds he had not been observ'd to do it; and this seems only a

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[1] *Pteropus tonganus*; Cf. Bayly, II, p. 263, n. 3. This was evidently the bat that the Tongans called *tanvatoa*.

continuation of the mourning ceremony by way of condolance, for 765
upon enquiring who it was done for they said it was a chief who had
died at Va'vaoo some time ago, that they had practic'd it ever since
and would do it for a considerable time longer.

In the evening we had a pig dress'd as the hog with Yams and 648
Cocoa nuts brought for supper, and Futtafaihe finding we did not 574
like the scruples they had made before to accept of any part of the
entertainment, ask'd us immediately to share it & give it to whom we 264
pleas'd. When supper was over abundance of cloth was brought for 262
us to sleep in but we were a good deal disturb'd by an odd custom, at
least amongst the better people, of being beat while they are asleep. 519
Two women sat by Futtafaihe and perform'd this operation, which is
call'd Tooge Tooge,[1] by beating briskly on his body and legs with
both fists as if on a drum till he fell asleep, and continued it the
whole night with some short intervals. After being asleep they abate
a little in the strength & quickness of the beating, but resume it if
the person is likely to wake, and towards the morning we found the
women relievd each other by turns & went to sleep. In any other
country it would be suppos'd such a practice would put an end to all
rest, but here it certainly acts as an opiate and is a strong proof of
what habit may effect. The noise made by this was however not the 521
only thing that prevented our resting, for the people who slept in the
house not only convers'd amongst each other frequently as in the 264
day but all got up in the midst of the night & made a proper meal of 262
fish and yams, which were brought to them by a person who seem'd
to know very well the appointed time for such things.

[JULY 1777]

TUESDAY JULY 1st. The wind N and NNW. Gentle breezes with fine 132
weather. In the morning we set out with Futtafaihe and walk'd down
the east side of the Bay to the point that is opposite Hoolaiva. The 114
country all along this place is very well cultivated but in general not 648
so much inclosd as at the bottom, and amongst many others that are
very large we pass'd one plantane field at least a mile long which was 311
in excellent order, every tree growing with great vigour and not a 245
bit of grass to be seen. We found that in travelling Futtafaihe
excercis'd a power, though by no means wantonly, which pointed 643
out the great authority of some of the principal men, or is perhaps
only annex'd to the royal family; for he sent to one place for fish, to
another for yams &c and so on at other places, which were always
brought with the greatest readiness as if he had been absolute master

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[1] *tukituki.*

643 of the peoples property. On coming to the point they mention'd
some thing of a person who they said had been fir'd at by some of our
164 people, and upon our wishing to see him they carried us to a house
where we found a man who had been shot through the shoulder, but
114 not dangerously, as the ball had enterd a little above the inner part
of the collar bone and pass'd out obliquely backwards. We were sure
from the state of the wound that it was the person who had been fir'd
at by the centinel the day the others were punishd, though positive
orders had been given that none of them should load their pieces
752 with any thing but small shot. There had been no application made
to it and the people about him seem'd to be very little concern'd at
the accident, nor indeed the man himself farther than his being
oblig'd to sit still from the pain and swelling which was considerable.
[627] We gave them some directions how to manage it & they seem'd
pleas'd when we told them it would get well in a certain time: but
[648] what is singular, on our going away they ask'd us to send him some
Yams & other things for food, and in such a manner that we could
not help thinking they imagin'd it was our duty to support him till
he should get well.[1]

643 In the evening we cross'd the Bay in a Canoe which Futtafaihe
had excercisd his prerogative in procuring by calling to the first that
[114] pass'd by, and found fault with the people because they did not seem
to come immediately as they were calld to. He had also got a large hog
[648] at this place and brought a servant from his house with a bundle of
cloth which he wanted us to carry as a present from him, but the Boat
[431] being small we objected and he order'd it to be brought over next day.

We got off the remaining horses, Cattle and sheep as preparatory
177 to our leaving the place.

231 WEDNESDAY 2^{d}. The wind SE. Moderate breezes with dull cloudy
132 weather and some rain in the morning.

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[1] Compare King's account on the Tongan point of justice. They went to the man, '& found him in a very grave temper, with his wife & some friends sitting by him . . . nature was doing her part, the seperation had begun, & the Doctor said he did not doubt, but left to itself it would have done well; the parts about were swell'd & inflam'd & the man complaind of not being able to lay himself down; we had about us some linnen & the Doctor cleand the wound & applyd some lint to the place, & made them well understand, how they were to proceed in future, he direct'd them to clap a Poultice of Plantain, but we were a little surpris'd on his wifes not asking as a favour, but as matter of justice something to buy him Plantains, & not for this purpose only, but food for her family, saying that they had nothing of their own, living upon the labours of the wounded man who was a Fisherman, & that as we had depriv'd him of earning his & their livelyhood, we should keep them; We had a long Altercation on this point, but some grave old men nodded in favour of our arguments when we told the woman, that had he been fishing for his family when he attemptd the theft for which he was punishd, she woud not now have want'd our assistance. The man recover'd his spirits instantaneously on our assuring him that he woud not die of this wound.'—Adm 55/116, f. 93v.—In the Tongan context, the idea of 'buying' plantains is rather surprising.

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THURSDAY 3^d. The wind SE. Moderate breezes with dull cloudy 132
weather. In the morning we unmoord and after breakfast weigh'd
and stood round the W end of Pangia-motoo, anchoring on its NW side [114]
in 17 fathom that we might take the advantage of a westerly wind to
pass the narrow[s] between Makkahàà and Mon'ooafai which leads
out to the eastward.

FRIDAY 4th. The wind ESE or SE. Moderate breezes with dull cloudy
weather and some rain. The Indians begin to collect again about the 439
tent as we have had more for these two days than some time past, &
they also bring a few Yams & other things to Barter.

SATURDAY 5th. The wind SE and SSE. Fresh breezes with close gloomy 132
weather and frequent showers of rain.

We had an Eclipse of the sun to day, the earliest beginning of which that could be observ'd happend at hours minutes seconds, but it was totally obscur'd by clouds a great part of the time it lasted especially towards the end. For several days before a great many spots were seen in that body which daily chang'd their number, magnitude & situation, but amongst others there was one place which had a groupe exactly like a cluster of nine islands.

The tent was struck and carried off in the morning and after the Eclipse the Observatory with all the other things and the party of marines went off.

SUNDAY 6th. The wind SbE or SSE. Fresh breezes with dark cloudy weather and some showers of rain.

MONDAY 7th. The wind SSE. Fresh breezes with some strong squalls and dark cloudy moist weather.

TUESDAY 8th. The wind SSE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather in
the morning but afterwards clearer and more moderate. The 648
Launches of both ships were sent to Mooa with the Cattle & horses
that had been left, and the Captⁿ went to the same place to see a 177
Ceremony which Poulaho told us when we went last to visit him was 231
to happen about this time. We understood then that it was to be an
initiation of his son and heir into some privileges, amongst which was 651
that of eating with his father which he had never yet done, and as it 796
was only ceremonial that he would just eat a single mouthfull of Yam [644]
& his father the same. We found Poulaho in his circle of Kava
drinkers who told us that the ceremony would begin by and by, but
begg'd it as a favour that we would appear with our heads uncoverd
and our hair loose. About eleven oclock we went to the Ma'laee
where we were carried the first time of going to Mooa, but saw very

perhaps to insure the succession wishes to see it done whilst alive. 651
This seems the more probable as all the principal people we had yet
seen assisted in the procession, and the solemn manner in which it is 796
executed appears as if they held it in a religious light, which is probably [644]
done to secure the performance of promises which are often
broke if made independent of any such tie. The present Natche 651
might then be consider'd as merely ceremonial, for the small quantity
of yams that we saw the first day could not be intended as a general 796
contribution, and indeed they made us sensible they were a portion 782
consecrated to the O'tōōa or divinity. But they inform'd us that in
two months there would be one of great consequence in which not
only the tribute of Tonga but that of Hapaee, Vavaoo and all the
other isles would be brought to the chief, and confirm'd more solemnly
by sacrificing ten human victims from amongst the inferior sort of
people on the occasion, an action that ought to be imputed rather to
the rigid execution which old superstitious customs require than the
inhumanity of these people. On enquiring the reasons of so barbarous [784]
a practice they only said it was a necessary part of the Natche, and
that if they omitted it the Deity would certainly destroy their King
for his impiety—a lesson which though it teaches us the propriety of
discharging religious duties is at the same time a strong monitor
against admitting superstition into the religion and policy of a whole
nation or even particular sects.

THURSDAY 10th. The wind from SSE to ESE. Moderate breezes with 132
fine weather. About eight in the morning we got under way and
work'd through the passage found by the Master between Makka'hāā
and Mon'ooafai, which in one place is not above a quarter of a mile 114
broad but continues narrow for a small space only. Its direction is 133
about SSE and NNW, the wind at this time blowing directly in opposition
to us, but we had the advantage of a flood tide which set us fast
through and a fine clear day which plainly discoverd the shoals on
every side. After getting through there is a passage sufficiently broad
between the shore of Tonga and the small islands Onne'vy &c clear
to the eastward in which we work'd, but made little progress in the
forenoon as the wind veer'd between SSE and ESE. About four in the
afternoon we opened the N point of E'ōōa or Middleburg as we stood
off, but finding no ground without stood in and about sunset anchor'd
in forty two fathom a fine sandy bottom, less than half a mile from a
narrow reef that runs parallel to & join'd with the shore of Tonga, the
N point of the island bearing ENE, one to the westward of us from
which a spit runs and Eoo'ēeegee .

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114 The Discovery intended to bring to a little to the Westward of us where her boat lay in fifty fathom, but missing the bank she drove off though they veer'd above a hundred fathom cable, and did not get up till twelve oclock.

132 FRIDAY 11th. The wind ESE and Ebs. Moderate breezes with dull close weather. In the morning we hoisted in the boats and in the
114 forenoon got under way, working up between Tonga and the isles without as yesterday. A reef connects all these isles together except
[133] Eoo'eeegee (which is the largest and most easterly) and also surrounds them, but there is no anchoring near it, for in the afternoon when about two cables length from the reef off Noogoo we had no ground with less than 62 fathom. In the evening we opened Middleburg, whose N end is a high bluff point and the rest appeard much as when the Resolution made it on the East side in 1773, so that it seems narrow, but we made so little progress today that we did not weather the NE part of Tonga till ten at night, passing between that & Eoo'eeegee.

[499] We had now been a month at Tonga and six weeks more amongst the other isles, during which time we were not only plentifully supplied with hogs & vegetables but carried some of the first to sea and as many Yams as would serve the ships company near two months, besides having salted   of Pork while we staid.
(648, 177, 101) The peacable terms that we liv'd on with the natives while here (if we except a few triffling quarrels unavoidable in the best govern'd nations) was by no means the smallest part of the satisfaction we receivd from visiting this cluster of islands, (which Captn Cook from similar treatment call'd Friendly Isles in 1773 & 1774) and I believe few people who were unprejudic'd left them without some regret.

101 Amsterdam, Tonga or Tonga'taboo is the most considerable of these islands and the seat of government, not only all the islands that we saw being subject to it but several others that will be mentiond
133 afterwards. It is about twenty leagues in circuit, somewhat oblong, though by much broadest at the east end and its greatest length from East to west. The South shore which I saw in 1773 is straight and consists of coral rocks eight or ten feet high terminating perpendicularly, except in some places where it is interrupted by small sandy beaches on which at low water a range of low black rocks may be seen. The W end is not more than five or six miles broad but has a shore something like the last, whereas the whole north side is invirond with shoals and islands and the shore within them low and sandy. The E side or end is most probably like the S, as the shore begins to

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184 height, and when broken off appears sometimes of a reddish though
oftener of a brownish yellow colour & pretty stiff consistence. Where
[137] the shore is low the soil is commonly sandy or rather composd of
[241] triturated coral, which however yields bushes with great luxuriance
and is sometimes planted not unsuccessfully by the natives.

Of cultivated fruits the principal are Plantanes of which they have
241 eighteen different sorts or varieties, Bread fruit, Jambos,[1] a sort of
245 plumb mention'd in Captⁿ Cooks account of Otaheite call'd E'eevee,[2]
and vast numbers of Shaddocks[3] which however are found as
241 often in a natural state as planted. The roots are yams, of which are
two sorts, one black & so large that they often weigh twenty and
244 thirty pound,[4] the other white and long seldom weighing a pound;[5] a
large root call'd Kappe,[6] one not unlike our white Potatoes call'd
Ma'whaha,[7] the Talo or Coccos[8] of other places and another nam'd
241 Jeejee.[9] Besides vast numbers of Cocoa nut trees they have three other
sorts of palms two of which are very scarce. One of them is call'd
245 Beeoo, which grows almost as high as the Cocoa tree, has very large
leaves plaited like a fan, and clusters or bunches of globular nuts not
larger than a small pistol ball growing amongst the branches with a
very hard kernel which is sometimes ate.[10] The other is a kind of
Cabbage tree not distinguishable from the Cocoa but by being rather
thicker and having its leaves more ragged. It has a Cabbage three or
four feet long, at the top of which are the leaves and at the bottom the
fruit, which is scarcely two inches long, resembling an oblong cocoa
nut with an insipid tenacious kernel call'd by the natives Neeoo
[764] goola or red cocoa nut, as it assumes a reddish cast when ripe.[11] The
third sort is calld Ongo ongo and much commoner, being generally
found planted about their burying places. It seldom grows higher
than five feet though sometimes to eight, and has a vast number of
oval compress'd nuts as large as a pippin sticking immediately to the
137 trunk amongst the leaves which are not ate.[12] There is plenty of
excellent sugar Cane which is cultivated, Gourds, Bamboo, Tur-
114 meric, and a species of fig about the size of a small cherry calld Matte,
824 which though wild is sometimes ate;[13] but the Catalogue of unculti-
241 vated plants is too large to be ennumerated here, especially as the
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[1] *Eugenia malaccensis.*

[2] Vi, *Spondias dulcis.*

[3] *Citrus decumana.*

[4] *Dioscorea alata,* though the tubers are generally brown on the outside rather than black. They sometimes grow to an enormous size, 6 to 8 feet long, and weigh much more than 30 lb.

[5] ? *Dioscorea bulbifera,* the wild yam.

[6] The Giant Taro, *Alocasia macrorrhyza.*

[7] Mahoa'a, *Tacca leontopetaloides.*

[8] Taro, *Colocasia antiquorum.*

[9] Si, *Cordyline terminalis.*

[10] Piu, *Pritchardia pacifica.*

[11] It was a sort of coconut: Niu kula, *Cocos nucifera* ssp.

[12] It is called Longo-longo by the modern Tongans: *Cycas circinalis.*

[13] Modern Masi, *Ficus tinctoria.*

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unknown ones discoverd by D^r Forster who visited these islands in 137 1773 and 1774 are not yet wholly publish'd. Besides the Pemphis,[1] 114 Decaspermum,[2] Mallococca,[3] Maba[4] & some other new Genera describ'd by that Gentleman in his Characteres Generum Plantarum, [824] London 1776, there are a few more found here which the [241] different perhaps season of the year and short stay did not suffer [249] him to detect, although it did not appear during our stay that above a fourth part of the trees and other plants were in flower, a circumstance absolutely necessary to distinguish the various kinds by.

The only Quadrupeds (besides hogs) are a few ratts,[5] and some 136 dogs which are not natives of the place but producd from some left by Capt^n Cook in 1773, and others got from an island call'd Feejee, [177] which must also have been lately, as the breed is not yet so numerous as to furnish the neighbouring isles with any. Fowls which are of a [235] large breed are domesticated here.[6] Amongst the Birds are Parrots, somewhat smaller than the common grey ones, of an indifferent green on the back & wing, the tail blueish and the rest of a sooty or chocolate brown;[7] Parroquets not larger than a sparrow, of a fine yellowish green with bright azure on the crown of the head and the throat and belly red;[8] besides another sort as large as a dove, of a fine green with a blue crown & thighs, the throat & under part of the head crimson, as also part of the belly, and the rest a beautifull green.[9] There are owls about the size of our common sort but of finer plumage,[10] the Cuckoos mention'd at Palmerstons island,[11] King fishers about the size of a thrush of a greenish blue with a white ring about the neck;[12] and a bird of the thrush kind, almost as big, of a dull green colour with two yellow wattles at the base of the bill, which is the only singing one observ'd here but compensates a good deal for the want of others by the strength & melody of its notes which fill the woods at dawn, in the evening and at the breaking up of bad weather.[13] The other land birds are Rails as large as a pigeon of a variegated grey colour with a rusty neck,[14] a black sort with red eyes not larger than a lark,[15] large violet colour'd Coots with red bald crowns,[16] two

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[1] Ngingie, *Pemphis acidula*.

[2] Nukonuko, *Decaspermum fruticosum*.

[3] Fo'ui, Forster's *Malococca crenata*, now *Grewia crenata*.

[4] Mapa, Forster's *Maba elliptica*, now *Diospyros ellipticifolia*.

[5] *Rattus exulans*.

[6] The common Indonesian and Pacific *Gallus bankiva*.

[7] Tongan Parrot, *Pyrrhulopsis tabuensis*.

[8] Blue-crested Parakeet, *Coriphilus fringillaceus*.

[9] *Coriphilus solitarius*.

[10] *Strix delicatula*.

[11] *Eudynamis taitensis*.

[12] White-collared Kingfisher, *Halcyon chloris*.

[13] Wattled Honey-eater, *Foulehaio carunculata*.

[14] Banded Rail, *Rallus philippensis*.

[15] Spotless Crake or Sooty Rail, *Porzana tabuensis*.

[16] Swamp Hen, *Porphyrio melanotus*

439 commodity, and amongst the small articles files or rather rasps were held in high estimation. They are undoubtedly of the same origin with 174 the inhabitants of New Zeeland and the isles eastward, for though in some respects they differ in many others they also agree. Their first population happend no doubt in the same manner with the other islands of this vast ocean, and indeed from the great number of these already discover'd we can hardly be at a loss to form a judgment of this manner especially if it be allowd, which is not improbable, that they are much more numerous and at less distances from each other than is generally imagind. Necessity if not choice would soon force the surplus of people which must follow the population of a small isle to emigrate; and I believe a very short time would bring them to some other isle as yet uninhabited. Accident too as well as design has no doubt often had a share in peopling the different parts of the world, & this may be the case in all the places discoverd or visited in this voyage, though it might at first appear the people must be naturally the same. This is far from being the case, but we must attribute it to the different stock from which they sprung before their arrival in the south sea, or we must believe that at the creation every particular island was furnishd with its inhabitants in the same manner as with its peculiar plants and animals.

192 114 SATURDAY 12. The wind E. Fresh breezes with fine Weather. After weathering the NE part of Tonga last night the wind being rather favourable we stretch'd over for E'ooa and fetch'd it about two in the morning, but kept turning till day light and at seven anchor'd in the same place where Captⁿ Cook had been in 1773, which he calld English road, in fathom water, one extreme of the land bearing the other , one end of Tonga , and the other . The Discovery did not anchor till some time after, when she brought to a little to the S°ward and within us. Few Canoes came off [312] but in one was the Chief nam'd Ta'oofa.[1] The Captⁿ went on shore before and after dinner and found some water which was but very 439 indifferent. They also traded for some Yams and above a dozen of hogs.

As we lay at anchor this island bore a very different aspect from 193 any we had seen and forms a most beutifull landscape. It is higher than any we pass'd since leaving New Zeeland (as Kaò may justly be reckond an immense rock) not excepting Mang'ỳà and Wateeoo, & from its top which is almost flat declines very gently towards the 137 sea. As the other isles of this cluster are flat the eye can distinguish

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[1] Ta'aufa'a or 'Tioonee'.

nothing but the trees that cover them, but here the land rising gently 133
upwards presents us with an extensive prospect, where groves of trees
are only interspers'd at irregular distances in beautifull disorder and 137
the rest coverd with grass. Near the shore again it is quite cover'd
with various trees amongst which are the habitations of the natives, [361]
and to the right of our station was one of the most extensive groves of
Cocoa palms I ever saw.

SUNDAY 13th. The wind E. Fresh breezes with cloudy Wr & in the 132
evening a little rain. Brought off a Launch load of water. Traded on
shore for a good number of Yams and some hogs. 114

In the afternoon a party of us made an excursion to the highest 439
part of the island, which was a little to the right, and in our way
pass'd a deep valley or rather chasm which is very narrow. About 133
half way up we could see that part of the island under us extended
into a large down which had several risings interspersd with small [311]
clusters of trees, but quite uncultivated, and coverd with grass about
the height of the knee where numberless cattle might be fed. On the
top we found a round heap of coral stones which they call'd E'tchee [349]
as that at Tonga, and seem'd to say it was a mark of Poulahos
sovereignty over the island. At this place was also a spring of excellent
water, and though we found Coral rock at the surface, on crossing the [312]
deep valley which is several hundred feet above the sea we saw here
a soft reddish rock and some sand stone. The top of the island from
this to the north point is an extended flat like that before mentioned,
behind which it rises gradually; but the east side of the island, though
it has a flat like the opposite one, terminates in steep craggs towards
the sea and is at this place in all not above five or six miles broad.
Besides the plants common on the other isles we found on the height 137
a species of Acrosticum,[1] Melastoma[2] and Fern tree[3] with a few other
ferns and plants not common below. Amongst the rest was the Jeejee
in its natural state which grows eight or ten feet high. We return'd by 487
another road which led us through a wooded part of the country and
about third way down met with a little pool of excellent water which 312
kept running into a much larger below, but we could not follow it as
the valley was rugged and the natives say it does not reach the sea
unless when it rains much. We found they burnt the grass in many 311
places but could not discover that it was intended for planting,
although they have a few spots cultivated almost to the top.

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[1] Probably this was the fern Hakato, *Acrostichum aureum*.

[2] *Melastoma denticulatum*, a branched spreading shrub called in Tonga Peikuku.

[3] The fern tree Longolongo, *Cycas circinalis*, found all over Tonga, and especially common on 'Eua.

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684 On returning we were informd that a party of indians had got into the ring where our people traded, struck one of their own people with a club which lay'd bare or as others said fracturd his scull & then broke his Thigh with the same, when our men interposd and sav'd him from being killd. He had no signs of life when carried to a neighbouring house but afterwards recoverd a little, and on asking the reason of so severe a treatment we were informd that he had been discoverd in a situation rather indelicate with a woman who was Taboo'd. We however understood that she was no otherwise Taboo'd than by belonging to another person & rather superior in life to her Amoroso, so that he had not transgress'd in any mysterious point as that word seems sometimes to imply. From this circumstance we had an oppurtunity of observing how they punish infidelity, but the female sinner has by far the slightest share for her misdemeanor as they told us she would only be slightly beat, & indeed the man in such cases perhaps seldom suffers death: as though this person seemd to us to have been very roughly handled they appeard to have no suspicion of his dying from it & said he would be well in a month, so that in all probability if the transgressor in these cases can keep out of the way till the passion of the offended party has subsided, he may escape with a very slight punishment.

132 MONDAY 14th. The wind ENE or NE. Fresh breezes with dark weather
and in the afternoon a constant heavy rain and sultry air. Our
439 people continued to trade on shore for a good quantity of Yams,
Hogs and Fowls & some were employed to cut grass for the Cattle.

Some of us went several miles into the valley which runs between
114 the upper and lower rising of the island to the S°ward. We found the
country tolerably cultivated, the soil on the high grounds being
311 chiefly a red clayey substance but below black and loose, and on
134 examination it appeard that every spot of the grassy part would
admitt of cultivation with the greatest ease & in all likelyhood yield
every thing in the same abundance as those already planted.

132 TUESDAY 15th. The wind N and NNW. Fresh breezes with dull
weather in the morning and then constant heavy rain till near the
evening. A considerable swell set in upon the shore but the ships rode
439 easy. Continued to barter for yams & other things as yesterday.

WEDNESDAY 16. The morning calm and the rest of the day variable
132 breezes or calm. A large swell setting in which broke very violently
on the shore, so that it was with great difficulty our boats got off at
133 night, and it would seem that it is sometimes impossible to get out at

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suppose we would never think of applying to on such occasions. It is 609
therefore the best method if a single person or two should wish at any
time to traverse the country to apply to the chief, who will send a 674
guide which will be a perfect security against all insults, for if a 648
larger company chuses to undertake such peregrinations they are
seldom molested. At the same time it should be observ'd that it is
every persons business to avoid giving them an oppurtunity of
offering such insults, as it not only interrupts the good understanding
which ought always to be cultivated with these people, both from a
principle of humanity and as a means of obtaining with ease those
supplys of refreshment which are always wanted by ships that visit
them, but as it also exposes themselves to real danger: For though
we cannot accuse any of the natives, however bad, of an intention to
destroy or even hurt the person thus insulted, yet in the scuffle which
must always happen before they can secure the cloaths which is their
object a man may accidentally receive an irrecoverable blow.

THURSDAY 17th. The wind E. Gentle breezes and sometimes calm 132
with close sultry weather and a good deal of rain. The Captn went on
shore in the morning carrying the Indian with him whom he 114
releas'd, and in the forenoon we weigh'd and steerd SWBS to get an
offing but afterwards hauld up SSE close to the wind.

Middleburg or as the natives call it E'ooa is only leagues from 131
Tonga, and English road in Latitude Longitude
E. The shore is every where bold, for the reef of reddish
rock, almost like that at Wateeoo, which lines it in some places is 133
scarcely a hundred yards broad. The island is of
figure, about leagues in circuit, and as far as we know
has no anchoring place but in English road. That as being an open 132
road cannot be calld a place of safety, for though it lyes on the [west]
side of the island experience has not yet convincd us that the winds
from that quarter never blow with a strength sufficient to force a
ship from her anchors, and the short time we lay there inform'd us
that even when not blowing directly upon the shore a swell may be
raisd which is both troublesome and may at times cut off all communication
with the shore, as few Canoes came off to us at that time.
Vegetables and hogs may be had in sufficient quantity, but water for 439
the purposes of a ship is just as difficult to procure as at Tonga, and
in other respects though a beutifull spot we found it much less convenient 312
than that place. The anchoring ground too is not of the best
sort as we found the Cable much rubb'd on heaving it up this morning. 133
The people seem not to be in that excellent subordination we 565

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565 saw there, and indeed the few persons of consequence here seem to be
little better than factors for the principal men of Tonga who have
large posessions in this island, amongst whom we found Latoone
Booloo had no small share, and a child of his who was very young
439 had almost as much respect paid it as the father at Tonga. The
eagerness of these people to get into their possession some more of our
431 commoditys, which must be reckond inestimable treasures by them,
appears from their sending a Canoe which reach'd us in the afternoon
with a message importing that the chiefs at Tonga had sent over some
hogs as presents and would follow themselves, but it was too late to
be of advantage to either party, for we were now three or four leagues
114 off. We sounded at four in the afternoon but had no ground with 120
fathom 3 leagues off.

000 **FRIDAY 18th**. *Lat.* 22.00 S–22.07. *Long.* 185.11 E–185.11–185.11. The wind E except part of the morning when it shifted suddenly to S or SbE. Moderate breezes with close dark weather in the morning and a good deal of rain but afterwards clearer. An irregular sea. In the morning early were taken a-back with a squall when the wind shifted to S, which split the mainsail and maintop gallant sail. We then stood E close hauld but as the wind veerd to E in the forenoon we wore and stood SSE. In the evening it came again to SW when we tack'd and stood to the eastward.

SATURDAY 19th. *Lat.* 22.29 S–22.26.20. *Long.* 186.11 E–00.00–186.00. *Var.* 08.41.50. The wind varying gradually from SW till the evening when it got to SE. Moderate breezes with fine weather. A moderate sea. Stood to the eastward but in the evening tack'd and stood to the S°ward.

SUNDAY 20th. *Lat.* 22.29 S–22.28.15. *Long.* 186.41 E–00.00–186.32. The wind SSE till the evening when it shifted to EbS. Moderate breezes with fine weather. Some swell from the SE. Stood to the eastward till night and then to the S°ward. Saw a fin fish,[1] some tropic Birds, Dolphins and Bonnettos.

MONDAY 21st. *Lat.* 23.03 S–22.59. *Long.* 187.08–00.00–186.39. The wind ENE and sometimes NE. Moderate breezes with fine weather. Some swell from ENE. Stood SE and ESE close hauld. Saw some fish in the afternoon.

TUESDAY 22. *Lat.* DR 23.53 S. *Long.* 187.59–00.00–187.32. The wind NNE and NEbE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather. A moderate sea. Stood E and EbS close hauld.

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[1] *Balaenoptera physalus.*

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Among their Amusements has been omitted the following which 524
the Children use, the first is keeping four balls up for a long time like
some of the slight of hand gentry do in England. The other is darting
a Stick with an oval head a great way which they do by striking it 526
first against the ground, it then rebounds to a considerable distance,
this is a play very common among the young boys.

During our Stay among them they did not seem to have any quar- 721
rels on their Hands either foreign or domestic, however they in-
formed us that a little time before our Arrival they had been at War
with the People of an Island called Fidgee which they said lay to the
WNW at the distance of five day's Sail which may be ab^{t} 200 Leagues.
By their Account this Island of Fidgee is much larger than Tonga- 829
taboo, & the People numerous & as they say Cannibals. However at this
[time] there were some of the Natives of that Island at Tongataboo, & 439
it is probable that the two Isles carry on a Trade in time of peace. We [563]
saw some pieces of Cloth very curious & prettily painted which they
told us came from Fidgee & that none like it was made at Tongataboo.

It is probable that the white people above described are the same 114
with those mentioned in the Spanish Voyages published by Dalrymple
& which he supposes were the Inhabitants of the Southern Con- [143]
tinent which the Spaniards were in search of. The nonexistence of
which was proved so incontestibly by Capt^{n} Cook in his last Voyage
that it must put a stop to any further Cavils & idle suppositions from
the Editor of those Voyages.

Superiority of Birth seems to be held in high Estimation at these 565
Islands, The natives priding themselves much on being related to the
Chiefs whom they immagine to be the greatest Potentates upon
Earth, or indeed in the Skies; for in speaking of those of the highest
Rank they always told us that they were 'Agee la langee agee lalo
fonooa',[1] which signifies Kings of the Skies above & of the Earth
below, at the same time pointing with their Fingers to the Sky & the
Earth. And as the Chiefs were held in great Veneration by all Ranks, 648
Capt^{n} Cook always treated them with due Respect & was careful 565
that no Insult was offered to them by any of our people. Fatafee the
Brother of Powlohow[2] being on board the Resolution one day & 648
seeing a Girl whom it seems he knew with one of the Sailors between
Decks, wanted to take her away from him, but the Man having 644
engaged her for the Night & delivered the Payment to her friends, 123
refused to part with her and the Chief insisting upon it & going to

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[1] '*Eiki he langi 'eiki lalo fonua*. The translation Samwell gives is correct, if one accepts 'kings'.

[2] Fatafehi was the family name: this was a half-brother, Ma'ulupekotofa.

cally express their satisfaction and approbation of each other. We were 175
likewise entertain'd with wrestling Matches, at which exercise they shew
great strength and agility, at the boxing Matches, in which they strike 609
very hard, but have little Idea of catching a blow; they sometimes avoid
it by feats of activity in skipping and bobbing aside, but are Strangers to 175
the art of Broughtonizing.[1] The Women are introduc'd into these boxing 609
Matches, and do pay one another about the Face and Eyes most intoler- 542
ably; this however we put aside in some measure during our Stay, for to
us who are accustom'd to pay such attention to the Ladies, it appear'd a 526
most unnatural and barbarous Amusement. The Men sometimes fought [152]
with Clubs, made with the large End of Coco Tree Branches, with which
they bang'd each other about the Head most heartily: now thro' all this Boxing, fighting &c, wherein they must very frequently have been most miserably hurt, such was their great good Nature and happy disposition, that I never saw any thing like a passion or the least heat of temper upon any of these Occasions among them; but tho' they were thus set on to knock each other about for the Amusement of their Superiors, they went thro' the whole Ceremony, and put up with the very disagreeable Sensations it must have occasion'd, with the same Complacency they wou'd have shewn in the most innocent and pleasing Amusements.

On the 27th arrived here another great Man from Amsterdam whose 175
Name was Fatafa Powlahow, who gave us to understand he was Agi- 643
lahi, or King, of it and all the various Isles in the Neighbourhood: to
corroborate this account, he was shewn all manner of respect and atten- 634
tion by the People, as indeed was Feenow, who at this time was absent [431]
upon a Visit to an Isle he call'd Vow-Vow,[2] which he told us was only one
days sail from this Place, and from which he promised to make an ex- [484]
peditious return with an abundant Present of red Feathers, and Hogs.

This Story of the rival Kings appear'd very extraordinary, but Capt Cook and myself of course, courted the friendship of King Powlahow, as at any rate we saw he must be a Man of extensive Power, and consequently by us to be attended to, However as Feenow did not return to the time he had promis'd, we concluded that his Absence was to avoid the disagreeable ceremony of an Interview with a Man, where his hitherto boasted Laurels must fall to the Ground.

On the 28 Instant, having far'd at these Isles as our Friend Feenow had 175
promised, most luxuriously; we weigh'd and stood again for Anamooka,
where we anchor'd on June the 6th. Capt Cook had sown some Seeds of 114
various kinds during our last Stay here, and was desirous of seeing how the Country agreed with them; some he found in a tolerable State, but others of them had been so ill used by Insects, as to render their being of future Service rather improbable.

Both Powlahow and Feenow soon join'd us here; I was present at the 175
first Interview that happen'd between them, when Feenow did the homage 634
of a Subject to Powlahow, but with such a dejection of countenance and 643

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[1] See note on Samwell, p. 1028 above.

[2] Vava'u.

613
in favor of a high chief with strong alliances. A chief's "people"[26] need 554
not be related to him by blood, but rather are associated with him by virtue 565
of living on the land (*tofi'a*) which goes with his title. [611]

DISCUSSION

Inequality is a conspicuous feature of Tongan social organization, but 554
dominance and subordination do not operate in one dimension. Rather,
Tonga can be characterized as having multi-dimensional ranking, and not
all of the dimensions fit into one pattern. In any discussion of rank it is 554
necessary to specify *kāinga* status; inheritance within the *kāinga;* class 565
rank; or *ha'a* rank. For each kind of rank a different combination of principles
is involved: *kāinga* status depends on maternal and paternal principles, 613
sex, and age; *kāinga* inheritance depends on primogeniture within the 612
patrilineal group; *ha'a* rank depends on segmentation from the Tu'i Tonga
line (an individual ideally tracing his *ha'a* through his father's line); and
class rank depending on one's genealogy through both mother and father.

It is interesting to note that when Tongans discuss rank they often do 554
so with reference to "who cooks for whom."[27] In our example of the funeral,
the cooks are those related through the mother of the dead man, especially 565
the *liongi* (see Note 8). At the funeral of Queen Sālote in 1965 the *liongi* 613
were those related through her mother, i.e., the Tu'i Tonga line, and especially 612
the present Kalanivalu, who is her *tama 'a tu'asina.* Kalanivalu was 764
liongi to her because of their *kāinga* relationships, even though his *ha'a* 644
rank derives from the Tu'i Tonga, while her *ha'a* rank derives from the
Tu'i Kanokupolu.

Ha'a are societal divisions comprised of individuals associated with ranked 613
titles. *Ha'a* have political and ceremonial functions and are of significance 554
only to those in positions of power or potential power and are known 565
mainly by chiefs who stand to benefit by power play or tradition. Most
Tongans today (and probably traditionally) do not know the relative 184
ranking or origin of the various *ha'a,* because these are affairs of the chiefs
and do not concern them.

Aoyagi, who worked in Tonga in 1962 and 1963, states (Aoyagi 1966: 613
150) that "*ha'a* are not known in this village or in other villages where I
made enquiries." Her failure to elicit information on *ha'a* is not because 554
they do not exist, but because she asked the wrong people about them. 565
She worked with commoners, mainly in Nukuleka, which is a village 114
under a *matāpule,* rather than a chief. Any noble, chief, or member of
his family, however, can tell one without hesitation to which *ha'a* they belong
and with what senior *ha'a* they are associated. At the kava ceremony held [276]
in connection with the coronation of Tupou IV on July 6, 1967, the [574]
present title holders of the various *ha'a* took part, and they were well
aware of their positions and duties within the framework of the societal [643]
structure. Aoyagi (1966: 173) takes both Gifford and Sahlins to task for
characterizing Tonga as an internally stratified system, saying:

> He [Gifford] wrote that "the whole system of lineages may be likened to a tree with trunk, limbs, branches, and twigs," which is not the case of the *famili* organisation at

> all. And much less, an internal stratified system as the result of ramification (ramage 613
> type according to M. Sahlins) can not be possibly found in this village. Supposing the 554
> ramage type to exist here in this village, all the villagers should be integrated into a 565
> triangle of hierarchy, the top of which is occupied by Leka. Actually Leka is in the
> highest rank of the villagers but except for his position it does not seem that people 114
> are internally stratified.

This illustrates precisely how the existing situation can be clouded by a failure to distinguish societal ranking from social status, failure to understand that a different kind of rank operates within them, failure to delineate how these systems are subdivided and ranked in relation to specific activities, and failure to understand how the systems can be manipulated.

Aoyagi seems to imply that village structure is, or should be, a microcosm of the societal structure. In Tonga, at least, this is not the case. *Ha'a* are part of the societal structure and have little to do with villages, and not all villages have men of title. No doubt "ramages" did not exist in Aoyagi's village, since "ramages" (*ha'a*) can only be conceptualized in terms of the whole society and would make no sense at all in terms of a single village.
But that *ha'a* do exist as societal groupings is undeniable. The whole tra- 613
ditional government is predicated on them, and one can observe them in 554
operation in a royal kava ceremony. Village structure in Tonga today is a
Western overlay rather than part of the traditional system. Traditionally 565
the people did not live in villages, the usual pattern being one of dispersed [177]
settlement (Maude 1965: 27). The positions of *ofisa ḳolo* (town officer) [361]
and *pule faḳavahe* (district officer) are appendages of a central administra- [647]
tive system that is concerned mainly with health, sanitation, and taxes.

Power and prestige are still functions of the traditional sociopolitical 554
system based on *ha'a* affiliation and the class division that separates chiefs 565
from commoners. Education is a new force, but those educated men who 178
succeed usually do so by manipulating the traditional system to their ad- 613
vantage, e.g., by marrying the daughters of high-ranking chiefs. The society [581]
as a whole is still kinship oriented, and the principles of *ḳāinga* rank are [612]
acknowledged on even the most important societal occasions.

During the recent coronation kava ceremony, a large pig was brought to 554
the front of the kava circle and divided, ostensibly to be eaten by the chiefs 565
and *mātapule* in the kava circle, but actually to be ritually taken away 276
from each of the individual participants by a person of higher rank. This
visually acknowledged the social fact that rank operates in more than one 574
dimension, one set of principles being used on the societal level while a 613
different set was operating within the *ḳāinga*. On this particular occasion [612]
all the *ha'a* were represented, and their relative rank and association with other *ha'a* were shown by the order in which their members were served and the position in which they were seated (*ha'a* ranking). Some of the title holders of the low-ranking *ha'a* are higher in class rank than the title holders of some of the high-ranking *ha'a*, but in this case *ha'a* rank takes
precedence.[28] The persons who took away the portions of the pig had higher [612]
status within their *ḳāinga* than these highest societal ranking people.

Tonga has an internally stratified system and is very conscious of rank at 554 565

178

satisfied to take a rear seat to those whom they feel to be intellectually 559 inferior. 565

It would seem that Tonga will not cease to be a rank-oriented society. 555 Rank is endemic to Polynesian society and no doubt will continue to be an organizing factor in Tongan social and societal structures. The principles of rank will probably shift to a greater emphasis on achievement, which indeed was true at the time when Tupou I appointed his legal nobles from a large choice of chiefs. At that time achievement was based on warfare and ability. After the nobles were appointed, however, the traditional principles of rank took over, and in effect they changed only in small details that functioned in such a way as to make major changes unnecessary. This may continue to operate in the future, with educated commoners 000 marrying the daughters of chiefs to elevate their descendants' class rank. But it is hard to see how *ha'a* rank will continue to be the vehicle of political power play. Already there are two educated commoners as Cabinet [565] Ministers, and it seems probable that, not too far in the future, office holders [555] by virtue of tradition will operate in a sphere of influence that is separate from real political power, which will then be in the hands of nontraditional leaders operating under new principles of rank.

NOTES

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1. Research in the Tonga Islands was carried out for one and one half years from [122] 1964 to 1967 and was supported by Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5-F1-MH-25, 984-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health, and by the Wenner-Gren Foundation [114] for Anthropological Research. I wish to thank the government of Tonga under their majesties the late Queen Sālote Tupou III and the present King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV as well as the many Tongans who helped me in my work, especially the Honorable Ve'ehala, keeper of the Palace records, who was especially helpful in traditional and genealogical information. I would also like to thank Raymond Firth, Alan Howard, Roger Green, Ward Goodenough, and Marshall Sahlins for reading and commenting on this paper. Most of the information was collected in the field; there was [128] little reliance on earlier published accounts of Tonga. The reader will note that frequently [127] details do not agree with Gifford (1929) but that in many ways Tongan social organization was the same in 1967 as it was in 1920. [178]

2. Rank as manifested in material culture and language will be the subject of a subsequent paper.

3. The term *matakali* is also in use today. The word is a borrowing from Fijian [192] *mataqali* and refers to a group not necessarily related by traceable blood ties.

4. A woman may differentiate her *tama* by the terms *tama fefine* (female offspring) and *tama tangata* (male offspring), but it is not necessary to do so because her be- [601] havior to them is the same. A man, however, elevates his daughter over his son and [602] correspondingly differentiates them terminologically.

5. See Gifford (1929) and Beaglehole (1941) for customs relating to brother-sister avoidance.

6. *Tokoua* can be divided into *ta'okete* (elder sibling of the same sex) and *tehina* 602 (younger sibling of the same sex). The principle of relative age has little importance 612 here; in fact, descendants of two brothers or two sisters are often termed *kāinga tau* 554 (fighting relatives) because they often argue over which one is higher. This principle [601] does have importance, however, in inheritance.

7. The example assumes that all have the same class rank.

8. A dead man's *tama 'a tu'asina* (children of his mother's brother) and the *tama 'a* [764] *tu'asina* of his mother (children of his mother's mother's brother), are known as *liongi* [601] (for funerals only).

61: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

PREFACE

114 121 One of the most conspicuous features of Polynesian life and one that has continually drawn comments from explorers, missionaries, travelers, and anthropologists is the dance. These comments have ranged from outright condemnation, to enthusiastic appreciation. Seldom, however, has there been any attempt to understand or interpret dance in the total social context of the culture. Nor has there been any attempt to see dance as the people themselves see it or to delineate the structure of dance itself. Yet dance has the same features as any artifact and can thus be analyzed with regard both to its form and function.

Anthropologists are cognizant of the fact that dance serves social functions, for example, Waterman (1962, p. 50) tells us that the role of the dance is the "revalidation and reaffirmation of the aesthetic, religious, and social values shared by a human society . . . the dance serves as a force for social cohesion and as a means to achieve the cultural continuity without which no human community can persist." However, this has yet to be scientifically demonstrated for any Pacific Island society. In most general ethnographies dance has been passed off with remarks such as "various movements of the hands were used," or "they performed war dances."

In short, systematic study or even satisfactory description of dance in the Pacific has been virtually neglected despite the significance of dance in the social relations of most island cultures.

[p. ii]

114 An adequate description of a culture should place the same emphasis on
121 dance as that given it by the members of that society. Yet inadequate descriptions of dances and their social functions persist even though dancing is a cultural universal which is integrated with many other universals in society. Despite the new techniques in recording dance movements and the possibility of testing approaches such as those developed in ethnoscience for their applicability, the scientific description of dance and its function in Polynesia is at the same point where the first writers on the subject, such as Captain Cook, left it.

121 The work to be presented here is an exploratory step in filling a gap in the descriptive literature of the Pacific. It has two aims, namely, to outline a method for analyzing structure of ethnographic dance data and to delineate the structure of the dance of the Polynesian society of Tonga.

122 I wish to thank the government of Tonga under their majesties the late Queen Salote Tupou III and the present King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV for permitting me to reside in Tonga for an extended period of time. I also wish to thank other government officials including His Royal Highness Prince Tu'i Pelehake, Mahe 'Uli'uli Tupouniua, and
123 the Honorable Ve'ehala. To my Tongan families, the Mataeles, Helus, and Fonofehis go my 'ofa 'atu, not only for their kindness and acceptance but also for patiently putting up with my repeated questions about things being the same or different, which one individual confessed "made her wild."

535 There is also a special dance group of the Palace known as 'Kava
Tonga,' which dances for formal occasions.

114 I have argued elsewhere (Kaeppler 1967b) that the *lakalaka* is an
535 evolved form of the ancient dance type *me'elaufola*. Innovations were
178 dispensing with indigenous musical instruments of bamboo stamping
[534] tubes and bamboos struck with sticks, and changes that were necessary
for men and women to take part in the same performance, which was
535 mainly that both should do the same foot movements. In the Tongan
829 view the *lakalaka* is a recently created dance genre, and it is
credited to Tuku'aho, chief of Tatakamotonga, and a *punake*, 'composer and instructor of dances and their poetry,' known as Malakava. The official view of the government in regard to *lakalaka* is that it originated after the first missionaries started schools in Tonga. "The teachers would rise and repeat some of their nursery rhymes and at the same time demonstrate with their hands the various actions depicted by the rhymes. The children would follow suit and gradually this action song evolved" (Premier's Office, 1962, p. 17). It is said that Tuku'aho, when he heard of the children's recitations, decided that a dance built on the same principles would be appropriate.

535 *Lakalaka* is performed by men and women together who stand in two or more rows facing the audience, the men on one side the women on the other. The two groups do different sets of movements. The men's are virile and vigorous while women's are soft and graceful. The men's movements are bigger, looser and freer, and quite often the arms are

TONGAN ADOPTION BEFORE THE CONSTITUTION OF 1875

by

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ABSTRACT

This paper is an ethnographic reconstruction of aboriginal adoption transactions. It is based on recent (1970 and 1971) field work in the Polynesian archipelago combined with archival research on extant nineteenth century documentation. The paper deals with adoption transactions prior to 1875 since aboriginal adoption, as well as numerous other aspects of aboriginal culture, were radically altered as a result of European influence. The Tongan Constitution of 1875 is a landmark for any discussion pertaining to Tonga, for at that time various alterations were rigidly introduced into Tongan culture. 121

Introduction

The Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga is currently a Constitutional 101
Monarchy under His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV. The territorial 131
boundaries of the island kingdom were proclaimed by King George Tupou I
(a great-great-great grandfather of the present King) to be 15°S and 23°S and
173°W and 177°W (Anonymous 1887). The islands of Tonga thus fall within
a rectangle of the South Pacific some 596 miles north-south by 264 miles
east-west.

In approximately 1800, Goldman's most useful "terminal date" for 175
aboriginal Polynesia in general (1970: xxviii), a numerical "guesstimate" of 161
the Tongan population would probably fall within the range of fifteen to
twenty thousand individuals. The most frequently cited figure for early 175
nineteenth century Tonga is that of 18,500 recorded by the American 161
Commodore Wilkes in the year 1840, from data provided by the local 114
Wesleyan missionaries (Rabone 1845:III:29). However, as McArthur has
accurately pointed out, this figure is grossly at odds with a Wesleyan
guesstimate of 50,000 Tongans for the year 1847 (1967:74; *vide* Lawry

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175 1850:245). Archival research in Australia revealed an intriguing census figure
161 for the main island of Tongatapu for the year 1824: 34,800 Tongans
114 (Beveridge 1824). Unfortunately, the good Captain had less the motivations
[162] of a preliminary census taker and more the motives of businessman *cum* sea captain trying to convince the Wesleyan Mission (with whom he had contacts and to whom the letter was written) of the tremendous "sales market" for material goods and nineteenth century Christianity in the archipelago.[1]

Aboriginal Adoption

597 Tongans had at least five distinct terms involving transactions between kinsmen which could be glossed under the one rubric "adoption" (and which have been glossed thusly in the past); these were *tauhi*, *ngaahi*, *fakahingoa*, *pusiaki*, and *ohi*. The recent research suggests, however, that *ohi* is the only term that should be termed "adoption" in aboriginal Tonga. Every time an *ohi* transaction took place there was a distinct and permanent change in (1) the rank and (2) the residence of the adopted individual. These permanent changes did not take place when the first four transactions occurred.

Rank and residence pattern are the two criteria by which adoption must be gauged in aboriginal Tonga. When a child was involved in an *ohi* transaction, that is, an adoption involving the permanent substitution of full rights of parenthood from biological parents to other individuals as parents, the adoptee had a permanent change in his (or her) rank relative to all kinsmen; the adoptee also made a permanent move into the residential area of the adopting individuals. The adopted child was treated as if he or she were actually a biological child of the adopting parents, and all important genealogical positioning was henceforth determined for the adopted individual from the adopting parents. The change in residence meant that the adopting parents were totally responsible for the welfare and up-bringing of the adopted child. Such a residential change could involve a move from one island group to another island group, or changes in residence from one village to another village (or district) on the same island.

Not-Adoption

Adoption in aboriginal Tonga will be clearer after discussing that which
597 was not adoption. *Tauhi*, or "looking after someone," was not adoption since
855 it merely referred to the process by which one individual looked after the child of another individual. Looking after someone was only a transitory transaction and did not involve any change in the rank of the individual who was thus looked after (although it could obviously imply a residential shift).[2]

597 557 613 adoption was a transaction between high ranking individuals of the various *ha'a*.

The political aspects of adoption were not lost to the European observers of nineteenth century Tonga. One individual wrote that it was the "fashion" in Tonga

> for mothers to make presents of their children to particular friends, by way of binding the ties of friendship more closely; there is a sound policy in this, as it unites the great chiefs in different districts together; for Fatua, has Tubou's daughter, and if I mistake not, Ata has Fatu or Tubou's son (Bays 1831:135).

This description indicates connections between Fatu, a non-titled *'eiki* chief of the *Ha'a Takalaua*, the titled *'eiki Ata* of the *Ha'a Ngata Motu'a*, and the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Aleamotu'a, also known Jiosaia Tupou.[5]

[797] The Wesleyan missionary William Cross (in the archipelago from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835) wrote how a six year old boy, natural son of a *matapule* (a titled non-*'eiki* individual) had died in 1830. Cross wrote how the child "had become a great personage, being the adopted son of Fatu, the chief of Mua" (W. Cross *Journal* entry of October 4, 1830). This description is probably one of *ohi* since Fatu of Mu'a did have sufficient prestige and personal rank to make a child a "great personage" by means of adoption. It could, perhaps, be interpreted as being an instance of *pusiaki* but it is doubtful, since the child would have had the rank of it's own *matapule* father. Instead, the child's prestige and rank was due to his adoption by Fatu of Mu'a.

[161] [581] In aboriginal Tonga, when the population of the archipelago was considerably less than it is today, adoption transactions (along with arranged marriages) were a key part to the overall maintenance of the archipelago by the Tongan chiefs. These aspects of the political purposes of adoption were merely hinted at by Sahlins when he wrote of realignments between "corporate descent groups" which resulted from adoption (1958: pp. 157-158). Likewise, Goldman has barely pointed out the political ramifications of adoptees being introduced into the line of succession (1970:435).

597 114 Part of the problem of interpreting aboriginal adoption patterns (and numerous other aspects of aboriginal Tongan activities) are the erroneous projections into the past based solely on twentieth century field work without incorporating nineteenth century eyewitness accounts. Thus Gifford nearly described the exact aspect of Tongan transactions between kinspeople for adoption and not-adoption situations when he wrote that "adoption may vary from a truly earnest relation in which the child is taken into the bosom of the family, to mere formality" (1929:26). Unfortunately, however, Gifford was "collapsing" everything from *tauhi* to *ngaahi* to *fakahingoa* to *pusiaki* and *ohi* under the one rubric "adoption." Likewise, the Beagleholes

were in error when they glossed *tauhi* together with *ohi* as "adoption" (1941:70).[6] 597 114

It must be pointed out that in aboriginal Tonga, non-*ohi* transactions could be used for political maneuverings; this would be in an instance of *fakahingoa*, or when an individual of high rank gave a name to a lower ranking individual. The French navigator Dumont D'Urville reported how he met an individual named Fae in 1828 who 557 553 597

> brought his two little boys to us: the younger had been adopted by the dowager queen which conferred important privileges upon him. It was thought that his ambitious father wanted to take advantage of this circumstance to secure for him one day the sovereignty of the island [of Tongatapu]. In order to accustom the other chief[s] little by little to looking upon this child as their superior, this artful nobleman never approached him without submitting to the humiliating ceremony of moe-moe, that is without prostrating himself before him and pretending to place his head on the child's feet, a ritual imposed on every Tongan chief in the presence of the Toui-Tonga (MS. p. 3). [576]

The "dowager queen" in this account was the *Tamaha* Amelia, an extremely important and high-ranking individual in aboriginal Tonga. The description is not one of adoption, however, but of *fakahingoa*, or naming, since the younger child did not live with the *Tamaha*. Archival and genealogical research further revealed that the individual Fae was not the biological father of the young child named by the Tamaha, but related to the child through his own sister who was married to the boy's father: the aforementioned Fatu of Mu'a.[7] [644]

The *Tamaha* gave the son of Fatu the name of Tungi, after her own great grandfather Tungimana'ia. Tungi's rank was changed as a result of this naming transaction, and he did go on in life to play an extremely important part in Tongan politics, but he continued to live with Fatu in the area on Tongatapu known as the Mu'a. The Wesleyan missionary Stephen Rabone (in the archipelago from 1836 to 1850) wrote at one point in his *Journal* that "Tugi is the son & successor of Fatu from Mua the east part of Tonga" (*Journal* entry of January 8, 1845), and the Wesleyan missionary Thomas West (in the archipelago from 1846 to 1855) wrote on the occasion of Tungi's marriage to 'Anaseini Tupouveihola (his fourth wife): 557 553 [644] [797]

> A fleet of eight large canoes has arrived from Vavau and Seven more are to come. These together with a large fleet of the same sort from Haabai are on their way to Tonga[tapu] to be present at the marriage of the King's adopted daughter to Tugi the chief at Mua who embraced Christianity two years ago (T. West *Journal* entry of July 5, 1853).

Adoption in aboriginal Tonga involved more than a mere naming process (which could or could not increase the rank of the child so named, 597 553 557

642 cognisance of the old and well-known chiefly custom concerning adopted
597 children" (*ibid.*). The Constitutional Ammendment, Act No. 15 of 1953,
428 added the following paragraph to Section 107 of the Constitution:
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> Whereas by Tongan Custom PROVISION HAS ALWAYS BEEN MADE THAN AN ADOPTED CHILD MIGHT SUCCEED TO THE ESTATES AND TITLES OF HIS ADOPTIVE FATHER now therefore it is decreed that upon the death of the holder of an estate or title who has inherited such estate or title by virtue of his blood descent from such adopted child the estate and title SHALL REVERT TO THE DESCENDANT BY BLOOD OF THE ORIGINAL HOLDER OF THE ESTATE AND TITLE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THIS CLAUSE . . . [stress added] (Wylie 1967:1:36).

Thus, in the twentieth century, Tongans realized the efficacy of adoption transactions in aboriginal Tonga and have incorporated what was once custom into the laws of the Kingdom for matters concerning high ranking individuals.

Conclusions

121 The major purpose of this brief paper has been to present descriptive and interpretive data on aboriginal adoption transactions in Tonga. Although
597 numerous activities involved transactions between kin (*tauhi, ngaahi, fakahingoa, pusiaki,* and *ohi*), the data and interpretation show that there was only one concept in aboriginal Tonga which should be given the gloss "adoption," and that was an *ohi* transaction, a transaction involving permanent change in the rank and residence of the adopted individual. *Ohi* transactions took place between high ranking individuals for political purposes.

121 The second purpose of this paper has been to point out that aboriginal Tonga is certainly not twentieth century Tonga. Scarr (1967:4) has written of
597 a "rigidity" in Tongan social structure, springing "in part, from primogeni-
428 ture," yet it was only with the Constitution of 1875 that strict rules of
178 primogeniture were introduced into Tonga. King George was most emphatic
642 in his 1875 statement to Parliament concerning the strict succession "from father to son for ever" and the new emphasis that "no adopted children"
● [114] could ever succeed to anything. This is why the Beagleholes were in error in their 1941 work when they dealt with *ohi* transactions and stated that the child so adopted "will also expect to inherit property, status and rank, if any, from its adopted parents" (1941:70). It would have been true before the constitution, but in the twentieth century it was simply against the law.

597 Although the Tongan Constitution was amended in 1953 for cases
642 ralating to high ranking Tongans and *ohi* transactions, for the bulk of the
565 populace the situation remains the same: no adopted child can inherit from
428

597 855 protector" or "to protect to provide for" (S. Rabone 1845:182; *vide* S. Baker 1897:175).

597 553 114 3. Baker also has *gaohi* erroneously defined as "adopt" (1897:2), along with *ohi* properly defined as "adopt" (*ibid*., p. 2 and p. 15). In his 1845 work, Rabone does not have the term *gaohi* nor any variation on it, but he does have *ohi* as "to adopt" (1845:19). For *fakahingoa* see Baker (1897:50), Churchward (1959:44) and Rabone (1845:59).

597 855 4. Churchward has defined *pusiaki* as "to rear (a child or a young animal) away from its mother" and states that one should compare it to *ohi* (1959:424). In the orthography of the nineteenth century, Rabone has *bujiaki* defined as "a pet; anything petted" or "to pet; to feed by hand" (1845:34). Baker's work, based on Rabone, also has the same but adds "foster" as *"ke bujiaki"* (1897:28). Churchward also utilizes *pusiaki* in the context of "foster-child" and "foster-parents" (1959:656).

597 557 613 554 565 5. The concept *'eiki* was one of "noble birth" in aboriginal Tonga and the term *'eiki* is not immediately synonymous with the term "chief." A title was given to an individual because of some special aspect of the individual and there were titled *'eiki* as well as titled non-*'eiki*; to finish out the simple 2x2 analysis, there were also non-titled *'eiki* and non-titled non-*'eiki* individuals (the last category being the bulk of the Tongan populace – in the past and in the twentieth century). For further particulars see Urbanowicz (1973 and 1973/74).

597 114 [797] 6. The only way a researcher can attempt a reconstruction of aboriginal (or early contacted) culture is for that researcher to examine the earliest extant documentation pertaining to that culture and then make comparisons both internally and externally, comparing documented statements to documented statements and then comparing the "old" information with "new" information gathered by contemporary field work (see Urbanowicz [1972] for a detailed explication of the methodology of the documentary research). The manuscript accounts of the missionaries can be suggestive, without providing any real information, as when the Wesleyan missionary James Watkin (in the archipelago from 1831 to 1837) wrote "this people much in the habit of adopting children" (*Journal* entry of April 9, 1834). However, the missionary statements are useful when they can be compared internally and with external, and known, reputable information. Thomas' following statements can be checked: he wrote of a Tongan girl in 1834 that she was "the reputed daughter of Ulakai" (*Journal* entry of March 9, 1834) when she died in 1841 he wrote that "she was the adopted daughter of the late chief Ulakai and the real daughter of the Tui Tonga" (*Journal* entry of July 13, 1841). In Australia, I examined the genealogical information in the F.E.V. Collocott Manuscript collection pertaining to Tonga and compared those genealogies to information recorded in Tonga – particularly the *Koe Tohi Hohoko Eni 'A Kingi Siaosi Tupou II* held by the Tongan Traditions Committee. The name of the girl proved to be Fatafehi and she was a child of the *Tu'i Tonga* Laufilitonga by his third wife Siulolovao.

557 553 597 609 7. Fatu, whose full name was Fatukimotulalo, was an important and powerful non-titled *'eiki*. He was the son of Mulikiha'amea and that individual's fifth wife, Ikatonga. Fatu is well reported in the literature: one European, non-missionary, who was living in Tonga wrote how he was "patronized by a chief called Fatou, who has adopted me as his son, – married me to his daughter, and given me a house to live in and land to cultivate" (J. Read in Orlebar 1833:69); another European observor wrote that Read had become the "adopted son of the most powerful Pagan chief in the island" (Orlebar 1833:48). Dumont D'Urville remarked that "Palou or Fatou and Tahofa [also called Fae] were without doubt the two most powerful chiefs of Tonga, although inferior to many others by birth" (MS. pp. 7-8). Fatu died on January 10, 1842 (J. Thomas

written on the incorporation of Europeans (both male and female) into Tongan society, such as Read, or Vason, who wrote how he was regarded by Mulikiha'amea

643 Order; Knight Commander of (the order of) the British Empire; and
Commander of (the order of) the British Empire].

Although much has been written about *kava* ceremonies in Tonga (Pratt
114 1922; Collocott 1927; Gifford 1929; Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941; Newell
276 1947; Lemert 1967; Bott 1972 and Leach 1972) no authors have satisfactorily
dealt with the basic question raised by Lemert when he criticized the work of the Beagleholes: no one has explained "why drinking *kava* rather than other beverages continues to function as an integrating force in Tongan life" (1967:190). Lemert pointed out that this is an extremely important question since "home brew" has been available for some time as one "alternative of male interaction." One must also add that there are numerous commercial establishments in Tonga which provide alcoholic beverages which could, theoretically at least, serve as substitutes for *kava* drinking.

121 Why the persistence of *kava* drinking over the years, both informal
consumption (loosely structured) and formal ceremonial consumption (highly structured drinking patterns)? To deal with this question one must combine contemporary ethnographic evidence with accurate ethnohistorical evidence
276 to obtain a diachronic and plausible interpretation. The major point
presented in this paper is that *kava* drinking has been the way in which
186 Tongans have maintained their identity. The most important *kava* ceremony
574 in Tonga, the *Taumafa kava* (or monarch's *kava*) continues to provide the
121 major focal point for Tongan unity.[1]

Drinking in Tonga

121 To place the *Taumafa kava* ceremony into perspective, background
information on the drinking of *kava* and alcoholic beverages is in order. With
275 the prerequisite alcohol license, individual Tongans (and non-Tongans residing
in Tonga) may purchase alcoholic beverages for consumption off of the premises from major stores in Tonga. The alcoholic beverages may also be
275 partaken of in at least three main "clubs" on Tongatapu. The three clubs on
Tongatapu present an intriguing structural pattern of drinking behavior. At
571 one end of a continuum one has the "Tonga Club" which is frequented
primarily by Tongan males and only secondarily by some Europeans (males and females). At the other end of a continuum one has the prestigious and exclusive all-male "Nuku'alofa Club" (the second oldest private club in the South Pacific, founded on May 15, 1914). The Nuku'alofa Club is frequented by resident Tongans and non-Tongans and various transient males. One night a year this club is open to members' wives for a dance. The third club has a mediating position on the continuum and is the "Nuku'alofa Yacht and Motor Boat Club." This club is frequented by both Tongans and non-Tongans, males

65: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9

Change in Rank and Status in the Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga

CHARLES F. URBANOWICZ

There is a certain amount of timelessness inherent in some ethnographic reports: a timelessness which stems from the quest of the synchronic description *cum* analysis of culture. This timelessness is present even though I am in agreement with Locher's basic point that "there is a new interest in the relation between anthropology and history" (Locher 1967: 77). Unfortunately, this relationship has yet to be intensified. 114

Change obviously takes place over time, yet all too often statements in the published accounts have compressed many of the unique aspects of Tongan culture into a homogenized whole. The massive work of Gifford (1929) has various points in it where one is not certain what was aboriginal Tonga and what was the Tonga of Gifford's research period of 1920–1921. In order to describe aboriginal Tonga and analyze changes in Tonga, one must "begin at the beginning" and gather the most reputable information on aboriginal Tonga, i.e. early-contacted Tonga. By itself, twentieth-century "memory culture" of what aboriginal Tonga was like (from which most researchers get their idealistic ethnographic base lines) is not sufficient to say what Tonga was like in the past. Memory culture descriptions,

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65: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9

114 in numerous respects, are not superior to reputable eye-witness descriptions of aboriginal Tonga.[1]

CONTACT AND DESCRIPTIONS

175 Part of the Tongan archipelago was first contacted by the Dutch navigators
177 Schouten and Le Maire in 1616, and various contacts with Europeans
followed: 1643 (Tasman), 1767 (Wallis), 1773, 1774, and 1777 (Cook),
1781 (Maurelle), 1787 (La Perouse), 1789 (Bligh), 1793 (D'Entrecasteaux
and Labillardière), and 1793 (Malaspina) (see Colson 1885; Tudor 1968:
125–127). These contacts between Europeans and Tongans lasted for
periods of a few days to several weeks. The accounts of these men made
Europeans aware of Tonga and placed Tonga on Europe's map. The
accounts spurred Europeans to send men to proselytize the peoples of the
175 Pacific. Tonga, along with Tahiti, was one of the first island groups to be
177 sent European missionaries in the late eighteenth century.

797 The first missionaries were of the Missionary Society of London (form-

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101 [1] Tonga, named by Captain James Cook "The Friendly Islands," is composed of
some 150 to 200 islands and islets with perhaps only 25 percent of those being inhabited.
133 The islands are a form of raised limestone, or volcanic formations and limestone
formations (Anonymous 1944: 16). The most recent work indicates that the total land
131 area of the archipelago is 256.42 square miles, with the Tongatapu Group (the main
island of Tongatapu with surrounding small islands but excluding the island of 'Eua)
having 100.37 square miles of that total or some 39.1 percent (Maude 1965: 218).
161 Tongatapu Island is approximately 99 square miles in area. The estimated population
for the entire archipelago for December 31, 1970 was 86,055 (Tapa 1971: 4).

101 The territorial boundaries of the Kingdom of Tonga were proclaimed by King
George Tupou I to be 15°S and 23°S and 173°W and 177°W (*Tonga Government*
131 *Gazette*, 2: 55, August 24, 1887). The islands of the Kingdom thus fall within a rectangle
of the South Pacific some 596 miles North-South by 264 miles East-West, with the
outer islands of the Kingdom being Niua Fo'ou Island to the North at 15°34'S and
175°40'W, and 'Ata Island to the South at 22°20'S and 176°12'W. 'Ata Island is
approximately 100 miles southeast of the main island of Tongatapu and Niua Fo'ou
Island is approximately 232 miles northwest of the Vava'u group of Islands.

101 Tonga derived its name from the principal island of the group, Tongatapu Island or
'sacred' Tonga. The *tapu* was probably appended to the Tonga because this island
became the residence of the leaders of the archipelago. Tongatapu Island was the focal
point for the political and religious system in the archipelago prior to and after European
133 contact. The Polynesians who settled the archipelago appear to have chosen this
relatively flat island because of terrain and climate. The middle, or Ha'apai group of
islands are a series of low islets. The northernmost island group of Vava'u has relatively
high hills, with most of the land being at least one hundred feet above sea level (as
opposed to Tongatapu Island which is no higher than two hundred feet along the
133 southern or *liku* coast). Vava'u was, and is, subject to more destructive hurricanes than
132 Tongatapu during the hurricane season and it was only on Tongatapu that relative
permanency of Tongan culture and continuity of leadership could be maintained for
182 generations.

ed in 1795 and later termed the London Missionary Society, or LMS) 175
and they arrived at Tongatapu on April 10, 1797 (Benson 1960: 113; 177
Wilson 1799: 96). Ten male missionaries landed and some remained until 797
1800, but the attempt at religious conversion ended in a debacle. One
missionary, Vason, married a Tongan woman and was converted to the
anga-faka-Tonga or 'Tongan way of life' (Vason 1810). The Wesleyan 797
Missionary Society established a mission station on Tongatapu in August 177
of 1822 manned by one missionary, Walter Lawry, who was accompanied
by his wife and several servants (including Europeans and a Marquesan
islander) (see Lawry's *Diary* for August, 1822). This attempt at Christian
conversion also ended in failure with Lawry being ordered by London to
be "removed from Tonga to Van Diemen's Land" (Lawry, *Diary*: July
26, 1823). Lawry eventually left the island in October of 1823, and it
wasn't until 1826 that a second Wesleyan mission was attempted in the
archipelago. In June of 1826 the Wesleyan missionaries John Thomas and
John Hutchinson arrived, with their wives, and this mission eventually
proved succesful. From 1826 onwards Tongans entered into sustained
European contact.

The various published accounts of the individuals of this period 114
(1616–1826), combined with twentieth-century field work, have allowed
us to make inferences about aboriginal Tongan culture (Coult 1959, for
example), yet no systematic attempt had ever been made to incorporate
manuscript materials into (1) an aboriginal ethnographic base line, and
(2) an analysis of changing Tongan culture. What were the processes by
which the aboriginal Tongan culture of 1800 developed into the Constitutional Monarchy of 1875?

The date of 1875 is extremely important in Tongan studies, for in many 178
respects the Tonga of pre-1875 was not the same as the Tonga of post- 177
1875. In 1875 the Tongan Constitution was promulgated by the *Tu'i* 178
Kanokupolu King George Tupou I, with the help of European advice. 177
The Constitution was the result of Western influence on Tonga and the 642
culmination of all of the written Tongan law codes in effect in the
archipelago since 1839. The date of 1850 given in Murdock's *Ethnographic* 177
atlas (1967) for Tonga, for cross-cultural research of a certain type, can 178
be extremely misleading, for by this time two major wars (as a result of 114
nineteenth-century Western influence) had been fought in the archipelago
(1837 and 1840), the Tongan language reduced to a systematic orthography
(c. 1830), and a European-induced codified system of laws had already
been in effect for certain parts of the archipelago for many years (in the
island groups of Vava'u and Ha'apai). Certainly Goldman's most recent 177
work which suggests 1800 as the "terminal date" for aboriginal Polynesian 178

177 society merits closer consideration than 1850 for Tonga (Goldman 1970:
178 xxviii).

178 Utilizing 1800 as a reference date for Tonga, one has a dynamically
554 operating and changing Polynesian society, with an elaborate system of
rank (based on kinship ties) and status (based on kinship and achieve-
● [114] ment). Changes in the rank and status systems resulted from Western
contact but these have not always been successfully analyzed or reported
in ethnographic accounts.[3]

ABORIGINAL TONGA

643 There are four major titles in Tonga with which we are concerned: *Tu'i*
644 *Tonga*, *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*, *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, and *Tamaha*. When the
554 various missionaries arrived in the archipelago, they grasped part of the
cultural system of ranking. The Wesleyan missionary Lawry recorded in
his diary for September 13, 1823, that

> the following is the order in which the present Chiefs of the Friendly Islands rank, viz: –
>
> 1. Tooitonga [*Tu'i Tonga*]
> 2. Tooihatacalowa [*Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*]
> 3. Tooicanacabooloo [*Tu'i Kanokupolu*]

Another Wesleyan missionary, John Thomas (in the archipelago from

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121 [3] The only way in which a researcher can attempt a reconstruction of aboriginal
127 culture is for that researcher to examine the earliest extant documentation pertaining
to that culture and then make comparisons between the old information and new in-
[114] formation gathered by contemporary field work. Urbanowicz (1972) provides a
detailed explication of the methodology of the documentary research.

127 Ethnohistorical techniques were used to extract ethnographic information of the past
from the documentary materials. Ethnohistory is thus the application of historical method to a body of documents specifically chosen for the construction of an historical ethnography (See Fenton 1962; Sturtevant 1966). The ethnohistorian focuses on the "ethno-" in the term, in presenting an ethnography of a given group of people; the "-history" refers not to the writing of history, but to the application of historical method to gather verifiable ethnographic facts of the past. Ethnohistory is not a study of change per se, although it eventually contributes to studies of change. The term ethnohistory as used by ethnographers is not synonymous with culture history, as the distinguished Pacific historian H. E. Maude has written (1971: 21).

121 Every ethnographer is, in essence, an ethnohistorian, since every ethnographer must
read background material prior to beginning field work and must weigh and assess
previous research reports; and every ethnohistorian is at heart an ethnographer,
combining archival research with field work among the contemporary people. This is
128 why I went to Tonga. Also see Cohn 1968; Dodge 1968; and Lurie 1961. Original
orthography has been maintained throughout this paper.

644 while it raised the individual in the estimation of all her friends, she was by this
554 means brought so near to the gods, as to be a kind of divinity herself to the
people, and was much sought unto as such (Thomas MS. 5:4).

The Wesleyan missionary Webb was quite correct when he wrote that
"the *Tamaha* is the greatest personage in the whole group of islands"
(Webb, Letter-Journal of March 1, 1843, for the events of August 12,
[643 1842). Where the *Tu'i Tonga* was the representative of the gods on earth,
the *Tamaha* herself was virtually viewed as a god.

644 Although the Wesleyans made numerous attempts to convert the
797 *Tu'i Tonga* Laufilitonga to Wesleyanism, they failed (and the *Tu'i Tonga*
became a Catholic); on the other hand, the *Tamaha* converted to Wes-
177 leyanism and the missionaries scored quite a coup on aboriginal religious
[643 beliefs when this happened. Thomas wrote in his Journal that "Tamma ha
has turned to God — also her brother Fehokohaabai, and all the people
of Tungua have turned" (Thomas, *Journal 5*, December 12, 1832). Gradually, Tongan culture changed in the nineteenth century under the pressure
of the Wesleyan missionaries.

554 The four titles of *Tu'i Tonga*, *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*, *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, and
565 *Tamaha* thus represented the core of titles of aboriginal Tongan culture.
643 644 From these four titles all other titles developed and as Thomas stated
175 (as cited earlier), "formerly there were three ranks of nobles in Tonga"
for whom one would apply the term *'eiki* (Thomas MS. 5: 1). The concept
554 of *'eiki* has changed over time in Tonga, but this change has not always
565 been understood and interpreted by all European observers. Writing of
644 these four core titles in the nineteenth century, one astute eyewitness to
643 changing Tongan culture did comprehend the changes in part:

> 178 It may be noticed that the term Eiki applied to the above chiefs and their
> 175 families almost exclusively in gone by days, and was a very choice word, but of
> later years it has become more common (Thomas MS. A1961: 7).

554 In aboriginal Tonga, individuals closely related to the *Tu'i Tonga* were
565 termed the *Sino'i 'eiki*, literally 'the body of the *'eiki*' (Churchward 1959:
644 430). These included the *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*, *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, and the
643 *Tamaha*. In aboriginal Tonga, *'eiki* was a concept of nobility, or noble
175 birth. *'Eiki* is not immediately synonymous with 'chief' as numerous
114 early European observers recorded.

One of the earliest voyage accounts of Schouten and Le Maire from
554 565 1616 has *Ariki* for 'King' (Dalrymple 1770–1771: II; n.p.). The various
175 vocabularies connected with Cook's voyages have, for the Tongan
114 vocabularies, *'Eegee* as 'a chief' (Anderson, in Beaglehole 1967: 956),

Agee as 'chief' (Samwell, in Beaglehole 1967: 1045), and *Eegee* as 'chief' 554
in King's 1821 vocabulary (King 1821: 447). Mariner's 1817 edition has 565
E'gi as 'a chief; a god' (II: n.p.) and with a cross-reference to 'chief' one 175
finds in Mariner "(a noble). Egi; (chief of a district or island) toói; 114
(supreme chief or king) how" (ibid.). By the time of Mariner's 1827 edition, however, some revisions had been made and for *Egi* Mariner has "a chief; a god; the head man of a party" (1827: II, lvi). This final definition roughly approximates the range of variation on the concept of *'eiki* in aboriginal Tongan culture. Not all 'chiefs' as reported by European observers were *'eiki* to the Tongans and not all *'eiki* to the Tongans were chiefs.

At one point in the past the *Tu'i Tonga* divided his lands between his 554
kinsmen, his *'eiki*. The various *'eiki* established and belonged to their own 565
named groups or *'eiki* of *Ha'a*, a corporate descent group. Various *'eiki* 644
of the *Ha'a* were given titles to represent some specific aspect of the *'eiki*. [613]
When the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Ngata received his title, he gave his own son who was named Leilua the title of *Ve'ehala* which is roughly translated as 'the wrong-footed man.' With the title of *Ve'ehala* went some land on Tongatapu. It is the title of the *'eiki* which passed on to another individual 554
when the *'eiki* was no longer able to perform his duties. The title would 565
not necessarily go to the oldest natural son of the *'eiki*. The title could be 428
passed to a brother of the *'eiki;* the title could go to a son of a sister's 613
child, or the title could go to an adopted son of the *'eiki*. In aboriginal Tonga, succession to titles (and chieftainship) depended on a variety of factors, including a joint decision of the corporate descent group on the ability of the prospective *'eiki*, as well as his age, number of wives, and the number of supporters the *'eiki* could muster if he wanted to be a chief of the corporate descent group.[8]

It cannot be stressed enough that in aboriginal Tonga consensus 571
and flexibility were key concepts. An *'eiki* who wanted to be a chief of a 554
group of people had to have the consent of the people; and a chief also 565
needed the consent of his fellow chiefs. Even the *Tu'i Tonga* could not be [643]
appointed to the title without the consent and support of either the *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua* or the *Tu'i Kanokupolu.* Thomas wrote in his *Journal* that "there is a union amongst the Tonga people, especially the chiefs, so that they consult each other before they determine anything" (February
11, 1826). A *Tu'i Kanokupolu* had to have the support of the various *Ha'a* [643]
of Tonga to become *Tu'i Kanokupolu.* Thomas recorded how one in- [613]
dividual had given up the *lotoo* or Wesleyan religion: 571
797

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[8] See Urbanowicz (n.d. [1973]) for a description and analysis of aboriginal Tongan adoption patterns and the changes in adoption and inheritance procedures as a result of the Tongan Constitution of 1875.

This may be how some view the monarchy today, and it would probably be 602
consistent with a statement pertaining to aboriginal Tonga, but it is not [643]
how nineteenth-century (and earlier) Europeans viewed Tonga. Alboriginal [642]
Tonga WAS an extended family, with virtually everyone being able to
trace kinship ties with everyone else. The concept of *'eiki* or noble birth [554]
was a perfectly viable one in aboriginal Tonga, for Tongans knew who [565]
was genealogically related to whom. The fact that only a proven individual 114
could be made a leader of men in aboriginal Tonga also made sense 642
— but this did not make sense to European observers of the time. The 175
Europeans, with European concepts of government, expected to find an articulating "wholeness" in Tonga; instead, as Wilson's statement makes clear, to their eyes they found chaos:

> The Government of Tongataboo is so complex in itself, and the natives' account of it so different, each taking a particular pride in exalting his own chief above others, that it is difficult to come to any certainty concerning it (Wilson 1799: 269).

Cook's ealier statement from 1777 is also in keeping with this approach:

> Of the nature of Government we know no more than the general outline, a subordination is established among them that resembles the feudal system; but of its subdivisions of the Constituent parts and in what manner connected to form one body politic I confess myself totally ignorant (In Beaglehole 1967: 174).

Cook was not "totally ignorant" but he was honest in his reporting.

When the missionaries arrived, particularly the Wesleyans in the nine- 177
teenth century, they too were confused — but they did something about 797
it: they did not admit to their confusion and set out to convert a culture! 114
They sent back fantastic reports to Sydney and to London and continued
to receive money and supplies to "convert" the Tongans. It was a fortu- 177
itous moment in 1826 when the Wesleyan missionaries Thomas and 797
Hutchinson arrived on Tongatapu: they brought their own supplies (to augment those abandoned by Lawry when that missionary left in 1823) to convert the Tongans, they capitalized on the Europeans who had been living in the archipelago for numerous years, and they also profitted from
the problems of the Tongans. As Thomas relates in his Journal for 1827: 177

> I learn from a young man here, an Englishman, that Tonga at this time is 797
> principally in the possession of petty chiefs. Some few years ago the great men 643
> departed this life and some were killed — even the King's family now have no 669
> power — but these chiefs fought and defended Tonga and they now possess the part they have rescued from their enemies, SO THAT AT THIS TIME THEY SEEM MUCH CONFUSED, HAVING NO HEAD MAN (Thomas, *Journal*, entry of January 30, 1827. Emphasis added.)

177 Because there was no "head man" or secular ruler, there was no Tongan
797 with the authority to order the missionaries to leave. The mission approach
643 was that of "divide-and-conquer" and they turned Tongan against
669 Tongan — chief against chief. The religious wars of the nineteenth
century which resulted from Wesleyan interference in aboriginal Tongan
177 life were notorious for their ferocity. In January of 1837, the Wesleyan
797 missionary Watkin could write of the destruction of the non-Wesleyan-
669 ized-Tongan fortress of Ngeleia and how "one Christian was killed and
three wounded more than 25 heathens perished" (Watkin, Journal entry
for January 11, 1837). Of the 1840 battles, the Wesleyan missionary P.
Turner wrote:

> The heathens seem determined to die in their foolishness. I am told that they have made an oath to do so, before they will yield to the Xtns. (Turner, *Journal*, entry for July 19, 1840).

Of the ferocious 1840 wars, Thomas could write that he told the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Jiosaia Tupou that "the heathens had acted more kind a great deal than the Christians and that they were less disposed for war" (Thomas, *Journal*, entry for August 4, 1840).

177 Aboriginal Tonga was forcefully pulled into the nineteenth century and
797 more needs to be written on this distasteful period. The demise of
aboriginal Tongan culture was clearly visible in 1840 when the Wesleyan
[114] missionary John Thomas, probably one of the few missionaries who ever
partially "understood" Tongan culture (and who has been ridiculed for
it), wrote in his Journal of August 4, 1840, of the titled *'eiki* Ma'afu of
the *Ha'a Havea*, a staunch non-Wesleyan-induced pro-indigenous Tongan
individual:

> Old Maafu is angry and grieved, saying like one of old, "Ye have taken away my gods, and what have I more."[*]

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797 [*] Thomas gathered a tremendous amount of potential ethnographic data, most of
which (if not all of it) still remains in manuscript form. He realized the problems of
114 data-gathering when he was asking specific questions and the following somewhat
poignant statement from his *Journal* of 1858 is worth re-reading: "conversed with a few persons, on some little matters connected with the Tonga history. My matter accumulates — also I hope it is in a way to be corrected before it sees the light — but whatever case I may take, it is scarcely possible to avoid making some mistakes, the more so, as various opinions are formed by various persons on the same subject" (Thomas, *Journal*, entry of February 20, 1858).

121 In addition, the agricultural environment in Tonga is much more
241 favourable for intensive cropping than are the environments in which
182 shifting cultivation is carried on in south-east Asia, for the soils,
171 derived from recent volcanic materials and not subject to heavy
[134] leaching, are of high inherent fertility. Although no yield measurements have been made, the decline in yields between the first and second cropping of a plot is certainly nowhere near the 80 per cent
121 drop reported by Geertz (1963, 23) from south Sumatra. Geertz's characterization of shifting cultivation applies to only one type amongst many, and to only one environment amongst the many in which this agricultural system is carried on.

[114] Following from this, I feel that Geertz, perhaps because he has confined his examples to south-east Asia, overestimates the fragility of shifting cultivation and the narrowness of the demographic limits within which it is a stable system. Nye and Greenland (1960, 129), for example, demonstrate that it is possible to crop at varying levels of intensity, and consequently of soil fertility, without catastrophic consequences to the soil. Up to a limit, which varies with the type of shifting cultivation and the environment, decreases in yield as a result of an increase in the intensity of cropping may be more than offset by increases in overall production because of the longer period
121 of cropping. This limit has certainly not been reached in Tonga,
241 where the agricultural system has a greater degree of flexibility in
182 response to population growth than Geertz admits for shifting cultivation systems.

On *prima facie* evidence, Ester Boserup's thesis more closely fits the Tongan situation, and her contention that differences in agricultural intensity are the consequence of differences in population density is supported by the material discussed earlier. However, the intensification of Tongan agriculture in response to population growth has not stimulated any basic improvements in the bush fallow technique of maintaining soil fertility except amongst strongly-commercialized farmers. It is important to an assessment of Boserup's thesis that this lack of change be explained; and two types of explanation are possible.

The first involves a consideration of the conditions under which population growth may fail to stimulate technological advance. Boserup does not claim that intensification will always lead to the adoption of new methods, and suggests several situations where failure is possible, some of which could apply to Tonga at present.

121 While the second of the three situations outlined above is a
182 possible explanation of the failure to improve agricultural techniques
241 in Tonga, another type of explanation—that such improvements are
not yet necessary—seems most likely to be correct. As suggested
182 earlier, the soils are of high inherent fertility, and shifting cultivation
241 systems can withstand a good deal of intensification before fundamental changes are essential. The adoption of cassava and dryland
[407] varieties of taro, both of which were introduced into Tonga in the
nineteenth century, has helped to maintain yields per man-hour as
cropping has been intensified, while the adoption of the metal push-hoe has enabled farmers to cope with the changes in the fallow
vegetation. Such adaptations in the agricultural system may well be
sufficient at the present level of intensity. The symptoms of population pressure are still mild, and the main pressures felt by Tongans,
to judge from the material on land problems and migration, are in
[114] cash cropping rather than in the food-cropping system. Acceptance
[121] of this explanation would thus leave Boserup's thesis in the category
of 'not proven', but probable.

However, the fact that the most significant changes in Tongan agriculture, involving such practices as machine preparation of land and the use of chemical fertilizers, have occurred in Tongatapu amongst farmers heavily engaged in cash cropping rather than amongst the less commercialized farmers in more densely-populated Ha'apai, suggests one major qualification to her argument. While land shortage has undoubtedly been a factor in these changes, for they began about the time when land ceased to be easily obtainable in Tongatapu, they indicate that commercialization is also a stimulus to the adoption of improved techniques. Population pressure, as noted above, is felt mostly in cash cropping rather than in food cropping. The income received from cash cropping makes it feasible to purchase industrial inputs such as fertilizers, while changes in cash cropping have repercussions throughout the agricultural system.
182 The increase in the area planted in cash crops, for instance, intensifies
241 the pressure on the bush fallow system, but where food crops are
intercultivated with a cash crop like bananas, as is frequently the
245 case, the former benefit from the fertilizer used for the latter, thus
making it possible to lengthen the cropping period and reduce the role of the bush fallow. With coconuts, a long-term crop, the need to control bush growth conflicts with the traditional practice of bush fallowing, and the achievement of higher productivity in coconut

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Holy War: Peter Dillon and the 1837 Massacres in Tonga

H. G. CUMMINS

THE POSTHUMOUS PUBLICATION OF J. W. DAVIDSON'S BOOK 'PETER DILLON 114 of Vanikoro'[1] raises again the question of the part played by the Wesleyan 669 missionaries in Tonga's civil conflict of 1837. Davidson's editor, Professor O. H. K. Spate, believed that Davidson had not finished working on the 797 relevant section—that the draft he received for editing 'could be taken as presenting fully only the anti-mission side, which would certainly not have been Davidson's intention'. To overcome this difficulty, Spate presented 'some specific points in the Wesleyan response', but refrained from rewriting the whole section.[2] The book therefore reaches no conclusion on Dillon's allegations that the Wesleyans were deeply implicated in the 1837 war, nor on the Wesleyans' categorical denial of them. A study of the relevant evidence does, however, make it possible to form a judgement on the rights and wrongs of Dillon's charges.

The affair began in November 1837 when Dillon, then a trader-captain 669 of nearly 30 years' experience in the Pacific, paid his third visit to Tongatapu. 797 On his earlier visits the Tongans had been friendly and at peace. This time they were not. 114 There had been bloody fighting earlier in the year and, from what he could ascertain, the Wesleyan missionaries had been involved. Dillon wrote to the chairman of the Tonga mission, the Rev. John Thomas, strongly condemning the missionaries for their action, and he sent a copy of his letter to the Rev. William Ellis, secretary of the London Missionary Society.[3]

Dillon charged, among other things, that the Wesleyans, especially John Thomas, converted the natives 'by setting one part on to murder the other'; that civil war was introduced by the missionaries; that they interfered with political appointments in 1826 and 1833.[4] But Dillon's most scathing 669 criticisms, which relate specifically to the 1837 war, were that 797

> [King George] was an humble instrument of torture, death, and destruction 643 in your hands, by whose means and bloody assistance you undertook to propa- 114

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[1] J. W. Davidson, *Peter Dillon of Vanikoro*, ed. O. H. K. Spate (Melbourne 1975). [113]
[2] Ibid., viii-ix.
[3] Peter Dillon to John Thomas, 20 Nov. 1837; Peter Dillon to William Ellis, 20 Nov. 1837. London, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Records (hereinafter WMMS) Microfilm, [113] Canberra, National Library of Australia (hereinafter ANL), M145.
[4] Ibid.

> 669 gate the mild doctrines of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, at Tonga . . .
> 797 that you are propagating the sacred scriptures by destroying man, woman, and
> child in Tonga . . . causing the assassination of innocent females–ripping
> 648 open their bowels–the mutilating of their tender offspring &c &c

114 and that

> you assured those murderers of success, as they fought in the cause of God, who marched in their ranks, though invisible . . . you assured that monster [Tāufa'āhau, King George] that the true God marched in his ranks with the bloody banditti.

Dillon concluded his letter with the warning: 'Mr Thomas, pray bear in mind that there is a God and such places as the Old Bailey and Execution Dock'.[5]

669 This might well have been the end of the matter had not Captain Croker
797 of H.M.S. *Favourite* been killed near Nuku'alofa in 1840 while 'mediating'
between King George Tupou and some of his opponents. When Dillon
648 learned of the death of Croker and several of his officers and men, he wrote
114 an introduction to his letter of 1837 and had it published in London.[6] The Wesleyan Missionary Society responded by ordering a committee to inquire into his allegations. The committee, headed by the Rev. John Waterhouse, met in Tonga in 1841 and cleared the missionaries of Dillon's charges against them. Their vindication of Thomas was unequivocal:

> On the whole of this cause, having gone thro' each allegation carefully, and deliberately, this meeting is unanimously of opinion that a more villainous & unfounded attack was never made on the character of any Xtian minister.[7]

669 The following year the Missionary Society published David Cargill's refuta-
797 tion of Dillon's 'slanderous attacks'.[8] The matter has rested there ever
since, no attempt having been made to investigate the crucial questions:
114 What was the Wesleyan missionaries' attitude to war? Is there any truth in Dillon's accusation that they propagated the gospel 'by destroying man, woman, and child'? Were the Christian warriors assured that the invisible God 'marched in their ranks'? Was Thomas personally involved in the war in any way? Are Dillon's charges to be dismissed as a 'villainous and unfounded attack'?

[5] Ibid.

[118] [6] [Peter Dillon], *Letter to Richard More O'Farrell, Esq., M.P., Secretary to the Admiralty, Whitehall, London, from the Chevalier Dillon, late French Consul for the Islands in the South Seas, on the defeat of Her Majesty's Ship, Favourite, and the death of Her Commander, Captain Croker, at Tongatapu* . . . (London? 1840?).

[113] [7] WMMS District Minutes, Friendly Islands District Minutes for 1841, Appendix, Dillon Allegations, WMMS (ANL, mf M123).

[113] [8] David Cargill, *A Refutation of Chevalier Dillon's Slanderous Attacks on the Wesleyan Missionaries in the Friendly Islands* (London 1842).

FOLLOWING the publication of Dillon's allegations, the Missionary Committee in London directed Joseph Orton, superintendent of the Australian District, to institute an official inquiry. Orton prepared carefully for the task, drawing up a list of 34 queries which he felt would help him in his investigation. Of these, only one (No. 22) touched directly on the missionaries' implication in war. This asked 'Was he [King George] influenced in his attack in any way by the Missionaries—or did he seek the advice of Mr. Thomas or any of the Missionaries?'[77] On the basis of information from returned missionaries who had been in Tonga at the time of the attack Orton concluded: 669 797 [114] 669 797 643

> I cannot say that he was advised by Mr. Thomas or any of the Missionaries though it is possible that their opinion might have some influence. . . . It is possible that had the Missionaries positively disapproved of his assisting Tupou he might have declined to do so: therefore it may at least be viewed as a kind of negative or silent approbation.[78]

But Orton did not go to Tonga. He was recalled to England and John Waterhouse, newly appointed General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in Australasia and Polynesia, conducted the enquiry in his stead. Waterhouse examined Thomas on six allegations that had been drawn up from Dillon's charges by the Mission authorities in London. Only one of these focused attention on the missionaries' implication in the war. It read: 'That Mr. Thomas persuaded this "bloody usurper" to invade Tonga who with his thousand armed savages slaughtered man woman and child and committed most revolting barbarities'.[79] Framed in this way the allegation could be categorically denied, for it was 'Josiah Tupou King of Tonga' who 'sent to George for succour as the heathen were preparing war against the Xtians'.[80] With all the allegations dismissed in a similar way, the committee of enquiry was able to pass the resolution which completely and unreservedly exonerated Thomas of any blame.[81] This official finding coincided with Waterhouse's personal view that Dillon's charges were 'a tissue of malicious falsehoods'.[82] [114] 669 797 [114]

In all the enquiries into the affair Dillon's two most persistent charges—that war was used as an instrument to propagate the gospel and that Thomas [114]

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[77] Joseph Orton, Queries and Memoranda regarding the War, Friendly Islands, Book No. 2, WMMS (ANL, mf M159). [113]

[78] Joseph Orton, Information on Queries, Friendly Islands, Book No. 3, WMMS (ANL, mf M159). [113]

[79] Friendly Islands District Minutes, Report for 1841, Appendix 1, Dillon Allegations, WMMS (ANL, mf M123). [113]

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

[82] *MN*, Vol. I New Series (May 1841), 503. [113]

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669 797 [114] had assured Tāufa'āhau and his warriors that Jehovah would fight with and for them—were never considered, either by Orton, the London Committee, Waterhouse or Cargill. That the Tongan Christian warriors had been assured by the missionaries of Jehovah's support has been demonstrated. But what of the other charge?

Thomas's letters written during the days that preceded the hostilities and immediately after the massacre suggest that he saw the war as an effective instrument of evangelism. He wrote to his parents:

> Tonga [tapu] has stood out against God for many years, they prefer darkness to light because their deeds are evil. The ostensible unbelief of the Jews, was the cause of their being destroyed by tens of thousands if not hundreds of thousands . . . so satisfied are the people of the goodness of their cause, they are most willing to leave all and go forth to suffer and to die if God require them in his good cause . . . we hope to get more places to preach at than we have ever had, so that we shall most likely ere long want two or three missionaries for Tonga [tapu] . . . King George is conquerer but he gives all the praise to the Lord. . . . I am sure that you will rejoice that God is so good to us.[83]

Some few months later his views were unchanged. Writing officially to his superiors in London of 'the war which has been ended so much to the honour of Jehovah of Host, and his glorious cause in these seas' he explained

> our way . . . [has] been opened by it, to reoccupy Hihifo . . . also our way has been opened to the two other principal heathen settlements in Tonga [tapu] where preaching has already commenced by the local preachers, and we have every reason to believe that the *whole* of Tonga [tapu], will be Christian, and not only so—but the good effects of this successful war with the heathen and their gods, by our Christian kings and their people, will be felt in all the islands in these seas and that in consequence on *Tonga—great Tonga—Tongatapu—*, having been conquered by Vava'u and Ha'apai Christians, thousands will turn unto God as even the heathens themselves say God the true God fought against them in the war . . .[84]

114 797 MANY of Dillon's allegations, only a few of which have been considered in this paper, were clearly questionable. Some, like the charge that Thomas removed fellow missionaries Cargill and Watkin because he did not like them, are based on wrong information. Others, including the allegation that Thomas was instrumental in placing Aleamot'ua on the 'throne' in 1827, are clearly false; Thomas had only been in the country a few months when that chief was installed in office. He was still struggling to learn the language and had made little headway in establishing himself among the people. The

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[83] Thomas to his parents, 2 Feb. 1837, ML, A1960.

[84] Thomas to Secretaries, 23 June 1837, WMMS Inward Correspondence (ANL, mf M145).

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charge that the missionaries had 'introduced civil war' is similarly groundless. 114
Accusations which refer to 'the usurper', to placing persons on 'the throne' 797
and to deposing 'rightful sovereigns' and 'hereditary princes' are misleadingly Eurocentric. Furthermore, Dillon's assertion that Tāufa'āhau was a [643]
humble pawn in Thomas's hands does little justice to a chief who for almost 50 years maintained effective control over his people and his country. Moreover Dillon draws a misleadingly simple picture of missionary domination and native passivity. He says nothing of the powerful political motives that [643]
drew Tāufa'āhau into the war: his defence of his father's brother against old [669]
political enemies; his aspirations after the Tu'ikanokupolu title; the traditional rivalry between the north (Ha'apai and Vava'u) and the south (Tongatapu); and the unsolved question of centrality or fragmentation in Tongan politics which lay at the root of the original outbreak of hostilities 25 years before the arrival of the Wesleyan missionaries.

And yet the events that concerned Dillon most and stirred him to publish his letter should not be passed over lightly as they have been for so long. Dillon accused Thomas of personal implication in the war, of using 114
the hostilities as an instrument of evangelism, of encouraging the Christian 797
warriors by telling them that the Lord Jehovah fought with them in their ranks. Despite the exaggeration and error in many of his other charges, in 669
these Dillon was most certainly very close to the truth.

SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AUSTRONESIAN LINGUISTICS 000

A conference on Austronesian linguistics, organized by the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, will be held at Burgmann College on the campus from 4 to 12 January 1978 inclusive.

The Conference will be concerned with four main aspects of the study of Austronesian languages which, extending in a broad belt from Madagascar to Eastern Polynesia, constitute a large genetic group.

1—the distribution, description, classification and lexicography of Austronesian languages and implications for linguistic theory
2—Austronesian historical linguistics and reconstruction of earlier forms of the languages
3—implications of the study of languages for the past migrations of Austronesian peoples
4—language problems of a socio-linguistic nature involving Austronesian languages: national languages; pidgin languages; education, etc.

Please direct enquiries to the Organizing Secretary, Second International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Dept of Linguistics, School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, P.O. Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T. 2600, Australia.

Oral Traditions

An Appraisal of their Value in Historical Research in Tonga

SIONE LATUKEFU

IN THE HISTORICAL RESEARCH WHICH I WAS CARRYING OUT IN TONGA TOWARDS 124 the end of 1964 and the beginning of 1965 I recorded, among other oral 114 testimonies, a good collection of oral traditions from the chiefs and people of Tonga, and in particular, Her Majesty the late Queen Sālote, at that time the living authority on these matters.

In Tonga oral traditions are preserved by social classes and by the 538 major socio-political units of society as well as by families. Oral traditions 533 may take the form of stories, told or sung, relating the heroic deeds of clan founders or important historical personages. There are family titles with stories of their origins and of those who succeeded to them, in some cases tracing back to the 14th and 15th centuries. Place names, proverbial sayings, songs[1] and traditional ceremonial mats have historical events associated with them which are still known. There are songs, sometimes accompanied by dances, which relate ritual or historical events. At Kolovai, where 533 I come from, we perform a *lakalaka*, a dance performed by lines of men 535 and women and accompanied by singing. This *lakalaka*, known as *milolua*, [114] relates how to carry out the ceremony of kava making. At Lifuka, in Ha'apai, I recorded a *lakalaka* which recounts the feats of the celebrated King George who defeated the *Tu'i Tonga* at the war of Velata, fought in 1825-1826.

The traditions are kept mainly by the chiefs of the social group concerned 814 or by their *Kau-matāpule* (attendants). Both men and women of chiefly [565] rank may know the traditions but there are no formal keepers of traditions [554] as in some African societies. In Tonga certain individuals are especially well informed, and they may be referred to as *tangata 'ilo* (or *fefine 'ilo* if a woman) meaning 'one who knows'. Certain social classes have knowledge of particular traditions, as for instance the *Ha'atufunga* class which knows all the ceremonial and traditional lore concerned with the burial of kings and chiefs. The major socio-political units also preserve certain traditions, such as the rituals and ceremonials connected with the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* royal dynasty, which are kept by the *Ha'a Ngata Motu'a*.

The controversy over the value of oral traditions is well known and 121

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[1] See J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*, trans. H. M. Wright (London, 1965), 51-2. [113]

69: Lātūkefu H,I-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9

121 all that need be said here about it is that at present the climate of opinion among scholars is more favourable to their use in historical research. The voices of men such as Robert Lowie, who once declared that he could not 'attach to oral tradition any historical value whatsoever under any conditions whatsoever',[2] and of B. Malinowski and his fellow functionalists, no longer seem to receive a sympathetic hearing. On the other hand works based on a critical use of oral traditions, such as those of John Barnes in his reconstructions of the political structure of the Ngoni and Raymond Firth's *History and Traditions of Tikopia,*[3] are widely acclaimed by scholars.

While accepting the view that no absolute truth can be expected from oral traditions since those who preserve them probably do so for reasons of social, economic or political advantage, and while agreeing with Malinowski that distortion results from the sociological functions of current historical traditions,[4] I could not accept the argument that they have no historical value whatsoever. McCall is correct in saying that 'to recognize the limitations of the use of traditions is not the same as denying their value'.[5] If social scientists were seeking only bias-free evidence they would have very little indeed to go on, even with written documents. The question that confronted me, therefore, was not whether to ignore or use oral traditions, but rather how, in using them, distortions could be detected and the likely sources of bias given proper recognition.

One of the first requirements for successful use of oral traditions is a
124 good knowledge of the local language. This has been one of the handicaps
suffered by many foreign investigators who have worked in Tonga. I had
[114] the advantage of being able to work in my own language. There can be distortions introduced through the use of interpreters, particularly where educated and reliable ones are hard to come by. At least a working knowledge of the language can avoid some unnecessary embarrassments. R. C. Suggs tells how once in the Marquesas he 'met a poor fellow who had a long vocabulary list of what he considered essential words such as "bread", "egg", "water" etc. The list was actually one of obscenities—his informants had given him the word for penis in place of bread, testicle in place of
124 egg, semen for water, etc.'.[6] A similar thing occurred in Tonga in an
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[113] [2] R. Lowie, 'Oral Tradition and History', *Journal of American Folklore*, XXX (1917), 161-7.

[113] [3] J. A. Barnes, *Politics in a Changing Society* (London, 1954); R. Firth, *History and Traditions of Tikopia* (Wellington, 1961).

[113] [4] R. Firth (ed.), *Man and Culture. An Evaluation of the Work of Bronislaw Malinowski* (London, 1957), 21.

[113] [5] D. F. McCall, *Africa in Time-Perspective: a discussion of historical reconstruction from unwritten sources* (Boston, 1965), 54.

[113] [6] R. C. Suggs, *The Hidden Worlds of Polynesia* (London, 1963), 111.

archaeological investigation carried out during the 1920s. The author's 124
monograph tells us of one of the royal tombs: 'Tradition says that a Tui 114
Tonga Fefine (female Tui Tonga) named Taemoemimi and the Tui Tonga
Pau are buried here'.[7] Had the author learned enough Tongan he would
have realized that *taemoemimi*, while seeming to be a respectable name
as one word, was in fact made up of three separate words, which literally
translated mean 'excreta and urine'—a most unlikely name for a royal
personage.

A knowledge of the local culture is another essential, not only for 121
correctly interpreting data but also for establishing good rapport with
people, especially informants. The investigator who fails in this may find
himself in a similar situation to the archaeologist referred to above.

While I did not face the same difficulties that a foreign investigator 124
might find, there were still some problems in obtaining co-operation. In
Tonga, as already noted, oral traditions are mostly known by chiefs and 814
they are usually jealously guarded, for such knowledge was and still is a 554
source of tremendous prestige. People take a pride in being known as
'tangata 'ilo'. Consequently it takes tact and patience to obtain their knowledge
from them.

While in Ha'apai, the middle group of islands of Tonga, early in 1965
I went to the widow of one of the high chiefs who had died a few years
previously. The deceased chief was widely known to have been the best
informed person on the traditions of the area. I had heard a rumour that
he had left a book in which he had recorded his historical and traditional
reminiscences. When I arrived at the place the widow and her son welcomed
me. We talked for a while before I mentioned that I had heard
about the 'book'. Immediately I was told that the last they had heard of it
was that it was with a cousin somewhere over 100 miles away. I then told 217
them what a pity it was that such an invaluable document was not available
to be quoted and duly acknowledged in my work and moreover that it 114
should be preserved in the government archives, which I myself was supposed
to be establishing, where it could be protected against the effects of
tropical climate and could be carefully labelled as their property, being
taken care of by Her Majesty's government. As I finished speaking I noticed
that the mother and son exchanged looks, showing that they had taken my
words to heart. When I left they expressed regret that my visit had been so
short and unexpected, but if I could come back the following day the son
would write down his reminiscences of the stories told by his father. Next

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[7] W. C. McKern, *Archaeology of Tonga*, Bayard Dominick Expedition Publication no. 15, B. P. Bishop Museum Bulletin no. 60 (Honolulu, 1929), 53. 113

124 morning the book which was supposed to be 100 miles away was there on
the table for me to inspect.

There were many others who were reluctant to part with their precious
stories and who only did so after they felt assured that I would not use any
of them in my work without their approval and that everything which I
used would be duly acknowledged. It is interesting to note that exactly
the same conditions were put to me by the Australian descendants of early
missionaries to Tonga, from whom I obtained family documents and written diaries.

114 The most rewarding part of my research in Tonga came more by accident than by design. On the morning of the New Year, 1965, I decided to
114 pay a courtesy call on Her Majesty the late Queen Sālote. According to our
644 customs, as a commoner I was not entitled to an audience; but being aware
of Her Majesty's interest in my research, I decided to call and pay her my
[569 respects. The courtiers received me with enthusiasm, and everyone tried
to help by attempting to tell Her Majesty of my call. However the Queen's
personal nurse, perhaps annoyed by the courtiers' attempts to contact the
Queen without consulting her, decided to exert her authority and told me
that I could not see Her Majesty. I then returned home, a distance of some
11 miles from the capital. However one of the courtiers had decided to tell
Queen Sālote about the episode, probably because she felt they had been
humiliated by the royal nurse. Soon after, an Inspector of Police arrived
bearing a letter to say that Her Majesty wanted to see me before her de-
114 parture for New Zealand for medical treatment. At this audience, which
lasted for about an hour, she invited me to join her in Auckland later that
124 month, so that I could record her historical and traditional reminiscences.
The news of my invitation by Her Majesty soon spread throughout Tonga,
and from then on I had no difficulty in getting any information I wanted
from the people.

124 In collecting material I mainly interviewed my informants. In these
126 interviews I recorded the text offered either by taking notes or by tape
recording. No questionnaire was used, in order not to interrupt the flow
of the narrative, but I would sometimes ask questions about a particular
event. The notes or tape recordings were read or played back to the informants to ensure that they were satisfied with them. With Her Majesty I took
notes as well as tape recordings. After the interview I wrote up the material
124 and gave it back to her for perusal and correction. In some cases I invited
well informed people for a kava party where questions of traditions were
raised and discussed and I noted the result. The advantage of this method
was that the heated discussion that sometimes took place helped to revive

of Velata the feats of a warrior named Tu'uhetoka of Ha'afeva, another 173
island of Ha'apai, who was considered by others to be one of the most outstanding 669
heroes. Naturally they sang the praises of their own two warriors,
and said that after one skirmish Tāufa'āhau (King George) came and found
Tu'uhetoka standing among a group of dead enemy warriors whom he
claimed he himself had killed, but who, according to the 'Uiha people,
were killed by another outstanding warrior named Puakatau whom Tu'uhetoka
had himself killed out of jealousy.

In 1965 I visited the island of Lifuka where this war took place, and 123
was taken by the local people to what remains of the fortress of Velata itself,
as well as to the historic tracts of land surrounding it. My local informants
told me the names of these tracts of land (*api*) and also how these names 124
had arisen. One story was about Tu'uhetoka. They said that at the peak of 173
a skirmish in which Tāufa'āhau and some of his men were being overpowered 669
a warrior of outstanding calibre among the men of Ha'afeva intervened, 643
and with a rare display of skill and courage, he and Tāufa'āhau
ploughed their way through *Tu'i Tonga*'s warriors, felling scores of them 726
with their clubs while the rest fled. Watching this warrior's heroic performance,
Tāufa'āhau was said to have remarked that he was like a gigantic fish
chasing a shoal of small fish. After the final victory Tāufa'āhau bestowed 173
upon him the name Tu'uhetoka (meaning 'standing in the face of defeat') 729
and gave him a sizeable portion of land at Lifuka, just alongside his own, and 643
called it Ikalahi (big fish) in memory of his gallantry. Later he was given the 553
island of Ha'afeva as his estate (*tofi'a*),[8] and the name Tu'uhetoka became a 103
noble title. 565

I found oral traditions a useful supplement to written sources. Care 173
needed to be taken, however, that the oral traditions were in fact genuine 124
and not distorted versions of written accounts. I was able to detect a few 121
cases where people claimed to have oral knowledge which turned out to be
spurious. When I was at 'Uiha I asked the old men about a certain tradition 124
which existed there. After a while they became uncertain and said that Mr
So-and-so, who was not present, knew all about it. Consequently we sent for
him. He was a school teacher in his early 50s, who was able to read English
books haltingly. What he had to tell turned out to be based on what he had
read in a collection of tales written for schools. However the genuine oral 114
traditions proved to be a valuable check on the reliability of written sources. 121
An example of this may be seen in the account of the destruction of the fortress, 797
god houses and effigies of 'Uiha. Bishop Blanc has the following 798
account in his history of Tonga: 643

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[8] S. Latukefu, 'Church and State in Tonga', Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University 113
(Canberra, 1967), 192.

69: Lātūkefu H,I-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9

> 114 Taufaahau in 1835 commenced to preach the gospel. Although professing
> 797 Christianity, he had at no time showed forbearance in his dealings with those
> 798 who were still pagans. Through a trick he succeeded in capturing the pagan
> 643 fort of Uiha, and gave the people into slavery to the chiefs of Vavau.[9]

The implications of this appear to be that Tāufa'āhau acted in a ruthless and inhuman fashion without considering the welfare of the people. However various oral traditions which I collected throw a different light on the episode.

173 The 'Uiha people were the last group to resist Christianity in Ha'apai.
797 Other chiefs had persuaded their people to become converted on the orders of Tāufa'āhau, but according to traditions, the chief of 'Uiha, who was
643 named Malupō, and his sons, because they were closely related and had
798 political affiliations with Tāufa'āhau, were able to resist his wishes on matters of religion without fear of disastrous consequences. Tāufa'āhau for his part was not seriously disturbed by 'Uiha's resistance. He sought no armed reprisal as was expected by some of the 'Uiha people, but treated the whole
173 matter in a rather humorous way. At the time that he became ruler of
797 Vava'u it was well known that there was some dissatisfaction among a few of the chiefs in Vava'u concerning the issues of religion and the rulership of
643 Vava'u. Tāufa'āhau used this situation as a means of tricking Malupō and his sons into terminating their resistance to Christianity.

According to tradition, before leaving on one of his visits to Vava'u he sent a message to Malupō to send the warriors of 'Uiha to Vava'u for his protection. On reaching Vava'u he arranged for the people of a small village called Masilamea, well known for their gentleness and lack of fighting prowess, to lie in ambush for the 'Uiha warriors near the spot where his large white pig was kept in an enclosure. When the 'Uiha warriors arrived Tāufa'āhau informed them that the rumour of a plot against his life was false. He then suggested that they should fetch his white pig to kill it as an *'oho* (provisions) for their return journey. Two or three warriors remained in their canoe while the rest set forth, unarmed, to fetch the pig. As soon as they had departed the canoe was seized. The others approached the pig enclosure, only to encounter the gentle Masilamea people who ambushed and, of course, outnumbered them, bound their hands behind their backs
[539] and led them to Neiafu, the capital. When Tāufa'āhau saw his famous warrior cousins as captives of the most un-warlike Masilameans, he burst into laughter, saying 'Toki taha a Masilamea' (Masilamea's first), which has become a common saying in Tonga ever since to refer to a rare and unexpected

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[113] [9] J. F. Blanc, *A History of Tonga or Friendly Islands. Trans. from the Tongan by* C. S. Ramsay (Vista, California, 1934), 37.

173
achievement made by an unlikely person. Then Tāufa'āhau lectured the 797
warriors on the falsehood of heathenism and exhorted them to become 643
Christians. They were detained at Vava'u (not as slaves, as Blanc alleged) [539]
until Tāufa'āhau and his men had sailed to 'Uiha and levelled its fortress [114]
and burnt down the god houses and all the effigies. In Vava'u the warriors [798]
soon became converted and when they returned to 'Uiha they proceeded to build the largest and most beautiful chapel in all Ha'apai. Rather than resenting what happened, the 'Uiha people had been grateful to Tāufa'āhau for what he had done—except for the episode of the white pig and the Masilameans which none of my 'Uiha informants wanted to mention.

This traditional background information put the event in perspective and showed Tāufa'āhau's behaviour to have been a very shrewd and humane way of overcoming opposition.

In conclusion, I believe that oral traditions after being carefully and 121
critically submitted to the canons of historical and anthropological criticism, have helped tremendously to make the history of Tonga more alive, more interesting, exciting, and I hope, more accurate. In general, I agree with McCall that: 'It was in learning to use these "witnesses in spite of themselves" and putting together in a kind of puzzle small scraps of information from various sources that history became, as Michelet put it, less the unmoving pupil of the chronicles of the ancients and more the ever-daring explorer of all ages'.[10]

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[10] McCall, *op. cit.*, 19.

539

A POEM BY THE TONGAN CHIEF TAFOLO

Pardon me, noble chiefs and lineages,
For the searching place is now far and difficult;
The old plantations once scattered on the roads
Have now quite disappeared and gone with them their generation,
And although they now lie in very thick bush,
Search will be made at any rate
For Touiafutuna, the first rock
Where our origin began.
Though these are only traditions and fables,
'Tis here the inquirers get their facts.

E. W. Gifford, *Tongan Myths and Tales*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 8 (Honolulu, 1924), 6. Translation attributed to Beatrice Shirley Baker. [113]

71: Forster T-5 (1773) 1777 OU9 Tonga OU9

[iii]

Preface

000 History does not offer an example of such disinterested efforts, towards the enlargement of human knowledge, as have been made by the British nation, since the accession of his present Majesty to the Throne. America, with all its riches, might long have remained undiscovered, if the unequalled perseverance and the glorious enthusiasm of Columbus had not providentially surmounted every difficulty, and, in spite of ignorance and envy, forced their way to Ferdinand and Isabella. That immortal navigator was protected at last, only because he opened a new and evident source of gain. But a friendship between Plutus and the Muses was too singular to be sincere; it only lasted whilst they, with no better success than the Danaids, poured heaps of gold into his treasury.

The triumph of science was reserved to later periods of time.
114 Three voyages of discovery, from the most liberal motives, had already been performed, when a fourth was undertaken by order of an enlightened monarch, upon a more enlarged and majestic plan than ever
[122] was put in [iv] execution before. The greatest navigator of his time, two able astronomers, a man of science to study nature in all her recesses, and a painter to copy some of her most curious productions, were selected at the expence of the nation. After completing their voyage, they have prepared to give an account of their respective discoveries, which cannot fail of crowning, their employers at least, with immortal honour.

[iv cont.]

114 121 The British legislature did not send out and liberally support my father as a naturalist, who was merely to bring home a collection of butterflies and dried plants. That superior wisdom which guides the counsels of this nation, induced many persons of considerable distinction to act on this occasion with unexampled greatness. So far from prescribing rules for his conduct, they conceived that the man whom they had chosen, prompted by his natural love of science, would endeavour to derive the greatest possible advantages to learning from his voyage. He was only therefore directed to exercise all his talents, and to extend his observations to every remarkable object. From him they expected a philosophical history of the voyage, free from prejudice and vulgar error, where human nature should be represented without any adherence to fallacious systems, and upon the principles of general philanthropy; in short, an account written upon a plan which the learned world had not hitherto seen executed. [v]

114 My father performed the voyage, and collected his observations agreeably to the ideas which had thus been entertained of him. Fully resolved to complete the purpose of his mission, and to communicate his discoveries to the public, and not allowing himself any time to rest from the fatigues which he had undergone, he inscribed and presented the first specimen of his labours to his majesty within four months after his return (1). The history of the voyage, the principal performance which was demanded at his hands, next engrossed his whole attention. It was at first proposed, that from his own and captain Cook's journals a single narrative should be composed, in which the

[113] 1. Characteres Generum Plantarum quas in Insulis maris australis colleg. & c. Joannes Reinoldus Forster, LL.D. & Georgius Forster. 4to. Lond. 1776.

[v cont.]

114 important observations of each should be inserted, and referred to their proper authors by different marks. My father received a part of captain Cook's journal, and drew up several sheets as a specimen, however, as it was soon after thought more expedient to separate the two journals, this plan was not prosecuted. The Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, being desirous of ornamenting the account of the late discoveries with a number of plates, engraved after the drawing of the artist who went on the voyage, generously granted the whole expence of the engraving (2). [vi] in equal shares to captain Cook and my father. An agreement was drawn up on the 13th of April, 1776, between captain Cook and my father, in the presence, and with the signature of the earl of Sandwich, specifying the particular parts of the account which were to be prepared for the press by each of the parties separately, and confirming to them both jointly the generous gift of the plates from the Board of Admiralty. In consequence of this, my father presented a second specimen of his narrative for the perusal of the earl of Sandwich, and was much surprised at first that this second essay was entirely disapproved; but after some time he was convinced, that as the word "narrative" was omitted in the agreement he had no right to compose a connected account of the voyage. He was told that if he meant to preserve his claim to half the profit arising from the plates which the Board of Admiralty provided, he must conform to the letter of the agreement; and though he had always considered himself as sent out chiefly with a view to write the history of the voyage, he acquiesced for the benefit of his family, and strictly confined himself

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2. This expence amounts to upwards of 2000 l. all the plates being executed by the ablest artists.

[vi cont.]

114 to the publication of his unconnected philosophical observations made in the course of the voyage.

I must confess, it hurt me much, to see the chief intent of my father's mission defeated, and the public disappointed in their
114 expectations of a philosophical recital of facts. [vii] However, as
128 I had been appointed his assistant in the course of this expedition, I thought it incumbent upon me, at least to attempt to write such a narrative. Every consideration prompted me to undertake the task, which it was no longer in his power to perform. It was a duty we owed to the public; I had collected sufficient materials during the voyage, and I had as much good will to begin with, as any traveller that ever wrote, or any compiler that was ever bribed to mutilate a narrative. I was bound by no agreement whatsoever, and that to which my father had signed, did not make him answerable for my actions, nor in the most distant manner preclude his giving me assistance. Therefore in every important circumstance, I had leave to consult his journals, and have been enabled to draw up my narrative with the most scrupulous attention to historical truth.

114 Two anonymous publications on the subject of our voyage have already appeared; but the present age is too enlightened to credit marvellous histories, which would have disgusted even the romantic disposition of our ancestors. The incidents of our voyage are various, and deeply interesting, without the assistance of fiction. Our course has been by turns fertile, and barren of events; but as the industry of the labourer reaps some advantage from the most ungrateful soil, so the most dreary solitudes have yielded instruction to the inquisitive mind.

[viii]

●114 Another narrative of this circumnavigation, is said to have been written by captain JAMES COOK of His Majesty's Royal Navy, under whose command it was performed. That account will be ornamented with a great variety of plates, representing views of the countries which we visited, portraits of the natives, figures of their boats, arms, and utensils, together with a number of particular charts of the new discoveries; and all these plates, engraved at the expence of the Board of Admiralty, are the joint property of captain Cook and my father.

At first sight it may seem superfluous to offer two relations of this voyage to the world; but when we consider them as narratives of interesting facts, it must be allowed that the latter will be placed in a stronger light, by being related by different persons. [126] Our occupations when in harbour were widely different; whilst captain Cook was employed in victualling or refitting the ship, I went in quest of the manifold objects which Nature had scattered throughout the land. Nothing is therefore more obvious, than that each of us may have caught many distinct incidents, and that our observations will frequently be foreign to each other. But above all, it is to be observed, that the same objects may have been seen in different points of view, and that the same fact may often have given rise to different ideas. Many circumstances familiar to the navigator, who has been bred on the rough element, strike [ix] the landman with novelty, and furnish entertainment to his readers. The seaman views many objects on shore with a retrospect to maritime affairs, whilst the other attends to their oeconomical uses. In short, the different

[ix cont.]

114 branches of science which we have studied, our turns of mind, our
heads and hearts have made a difference in our sensations, reflections,
114 and expressions. This disparity may have been rendered still more
128 evident, as I have slightly passed over all regulations relative to
the interior oeconomy of the ship and the crew: I have studiously
avoided nautical details both at sea and in harbour, nor ventured
to determine how often we reefed, or split a sail in a storm, how
many times we tacked to weather a point, and how often our refractory
bark disobeyed her Palinurus, and missed stays. The bearings and
distances of projecting capes, of peaks, hills, and hummocks, of bays,
harbours, ports, and coves, at different hours of the day, have
likewise been in general omitted. These instructive particulars
114 thrive in the proper field of the navigator. The history of captain
Cook's first Voyage Round the World (3), was eagerly read by all
European nations, but incurred universal censure, I had almost said
contempt. It was the fate of that History, to be compiled by a person
who had not been on the voyage; and [x] to the frivolous observations,
the uninteresting digressions, and sophistical principles of this
writer, the ill-success of the work has been attributed: though few
are able to determine, with what degree of justice the blame is thrown
upon the compiler. The active life of captain Cook, and his indefatigable pursuits after discoveries, have made it impossible for
him to superintend the printing of his own Journals; and the public,
I am much afraid, must again converse with him by means of an
interpreter. His present performance will, in all probability, have

3. In the Endeavour, from 1768, to 1771, drawn up by Dr. John Hawkesworth.

[x cont.]

114 another circumstance in common with the former, where many important observations, thought obnoxious, have been suppressed, as is customary in France. The same authority which blew off M. de Bougainville from the island of Juan Fernandez, could hush to silence the British guns, whilst the Endeavour cannonaded the Portuguese fort at Madeira (4).

> 4. The two circumstances here alluded to, are well known facts, though suppressed in the published narratives. M. de Bougainville spent some time at Juan Fernandez, and completely refreshed his crew there, though he wishes to have it understood, that contrary winds prevented his touching at that island. Captain Cook in the Endeavour, battered the Loo-fort at Madeira, in conjunction with an English frigate, thus resenting an affront which had been offered to the British flag.

Without entering farther into this subject, I shall only observe, that the above remark will give an adequate idea of the authenticity of a performance, which is submitted [xi] to censure and mutilation, before it is offered to the public.

The philosophers of the present age, to obviate the seeming contradictions in the accounts of different travellers, have been at the trouble to select certain authors in whom they have placed confidence, and rejected as fabulous the assertions of all the rest. Without being competent judges of the subject, they have assumed a few circumstances as facts; and wresting even those to suit their own systems, have built a superstructure which pleases at a distance, but upon nearer examination partakes of the illusive nature of a dream. The learned, at last grown tired of being deceived by the powers of rhetoric, and by sophistical arguments, raised a general cry after a simple collection of facts. They had their wish; facts were collected in all parts of the world, and yet knowledge was not increased. They received a confused heap of disjointed limbs, which no art could re-

[xi cont.]

114 unite into a whole; and the rage of hunting after facts soon rendered them incapable of forming and resolving a single proposition; like those minute enquirers, whose life is wholly spent in the anatomical dissection of flies, from whence they never draw a single conclusion for the use of mankind, or even of brutes. Besides this, two travellers seldom saw the same object in the same manner, and each reported the fact differently, according to his sensations, [xii] and his peculiar mode of thinking. It was therefore necessary to be acquainted with the
114 observer, before any use could be made of his observations. The traveller
121 was no longer to trust to chance for a variety of occurrences, but to make use of his first discovery, as the thread of Ariadne, by the help of which he might guide his steps through the labyrinth of human knowledge. It was therefore requisite that he should have penetration sufficient to combine different facts, and to form general views from thence, which might in some measure guide him to new discoveries, and
121 point out the proper objects of farther investigation. This was the
128 idea with which I embarked on the late voyage round the world, and agreeably to which I have collected materials for the present publication, as far as the time, my situation and abilities, would permit. I have always endeavoured in this narrative to connect the ideas arising from different occurrences, in order, if possible, to throw more light upon the nature of the human mind, and to lift the soul into that exalted station, from whence the extensive view must
128 "justify the ways of God to man." Whether I have succeeded or failed in the attempt, remains to be decided; but the rectitude of the intention cannot, I trust, be misconstrued. I have sometimes obeyed the powerful dictates of my heart, and given voice to my feelings;

[xii cont.]

128 for, as I do not pretend to be free from the weaknesses common [xiii] to my fellow-creatures, it was necessary for every reader to know the colour of the glass through which I looked. Of this at least I am certain, that a gloomy livid tinge hath never clouded my sight. Accustomed to look on all the various tribes of men, as entitled to an equal share of my good will, and conscious, at the same time, of the rights which I possess in common with every individual among them, I have endeavoured to make my remarks with a retrospect to our general improvement and welfare; and neither attachment nor aversion to particular nations have influenced my praise or censure.

114 The degree of pleasure which may result from the perusal of a work, depends not only upon the variety of the subject, but likewise upon the purity and the graces of style. We must resign all pretensions to taste and sentiment, if we did not prefer a well-told tale to a lame and tedious narration. Of late, however, the just esteem in which an elegant diction is held, has been so far abused, that authors, relying on the fluency of their language, have paid no attention to the matter which they proposed, but deceived the public with a dry and uninstructive performance. Such writers may possibly acquire the approbation of some individuals.

"Who haunt Parnassus but to please their ear;"

But I am convinced the generality of readers are always just enough to overlook, in some measure, the defects of style, [xiv] in favour of

128 the novelty or usefulness of the subject. Without attempting to be curiously elegant, I have aimed at perspicuity; and having paid the strictest attention to this particular, I hope to meet with indulgence,

[426 cont.]

175
609
[431] a few fruits, with a variety of arms and utensils. The cordial reception which we met with, was such as might have been expected from a people well acquainted with our good intentions, and ac-
[648] customed to the transitory visits of European ships. But these kind islanders had never seen Europeans among them, and could only have heard [427] of Tasman who visited the adjacent Amsterdam island, by imperfect tradition. Nothing was therefore more conspicuous in their whole behaviour than an open, generous disposition, free from any mean distrust. This was confirmed by the appearance of a great number of women in the croud, covered from the waist downwards, whose
● 114 looks and smiles welcomed us to the shore. Mr. Hodges designed this memorable interview in an elegant picture, which has been engraved for captain Cook's account of this voyage. The same candour with which I have made it a rule to commend the performances of this ingenious artist, whenever they are characteristic of the objects which he meant to represent, obliges me to mention, that this piece, in which the execution of Mr. Sherwin cannot be too much admired, does not convey any adequate idea of the natives of Ea-oowhe or of Tonga-Tabbo. The plates which ornamented the history of captain Cook's former voyage, have been justly criticised, because they exhibited to our eyes the pleasing forms of antique figures and draperies, instead of those Indians of which we wished to form some idea. But it is also greatly to be feared, that Mr. Hodges has lost the sketches and drawings which he made from NATURE in the course of the voyage, and supplied the deficiency in this case, from his own elegant ideas. The connoisseur will find Greek contours and features in this picture, which have never existed in the South Sea.

[427 cont.]

114 He [428] will [A] admire an elegant flowing robe which involves the whole
291 head and body, in an island where the women very rarely cover
302 the shoulders and breast; and he will be struck with awe and delight
by the figure of a divine old man, with a long white beard, though
all the people of Ea-oowhe shave themselves with muscle-shells.

175 We soon left the landing place, and followed the chief, who
123 invited us up into the country. The ground from the water's side
175
311 rose somewhat steep for a few yards, above which it flattened into
a beautiful green lawn, surrounded by tall trees and tufted
175 shrubberies, and open only to the sea. At the bottom of it, which
342 might be about one hundred yards from the landing-place, we saw a
very neat well-looking house, of which the roof sloped down within
[123] two feet of the ground. We advanced across the delightful green,
which was so smooth, that it put us in mind of the finest spots in
England, and were entreated to sit down in the house, which was most
elegantly laid out with mats of the best workmanship. In one corner
of it we saw a moveable partition of wicker-work standing upright,
and, from the signs of the natives collected, that it separated their
[824] bed-place. The roof, sloping down on all sides, was formed of
a great number of spars and round sticks very firmly connected, and
covered with a sort of matting made of banana leaves.

175 [429] We were no sooner seated in the house, surrounded by a
533 considerable number of natives, not less than a hundred, than two
[609]
[123] or three of the women welcomed us with a song, which, though exceed-
[171] ingly simple, had a very pleasing effect, and was highly musical
when compared to the Taheitian songs. They beat time to it by
snapping the second finger and thumb, and holding the three remaining

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[A] [Forster is critiquing an illustration in Cook's published account—Analyst.]

[443 cont.]

175 123 I believe we should have been entirely left to ourselves if we had
609 not engaged two of them to become our conductors. The discharge of our guns, and their effect, neither excited their admiration nor their fear; but they always appeared kind and courteous towards us.
175 Their women were, in general, [444] reserved, and turned with
609 disgust from the immodest behaviour of ungovernable seamen, some of
832 them however appeared to be of easy virtue, and beckoned to our people with lascivious gestures."

175 The next morning early the captain went on shore with us,
124 431 and presented the chief with a variety of garden seeds, explaining
175 by signs how useful they would prove to him. This was as yet our
124 only mode of conversation, though we had picked up a number of words,
197 which, by the help of the principles of universal grammar, and the idea of dialects, we easily perceived had a great affinity with the
[114] language spoken at Taheitee and the Society Isles. O-Mai and Mahine (or O-Hedeedee,) the two natives of Raietea and Borabora who embarked with us, at first declared that the language was totally new and unintelligible to them; however, when we explained to them the affinity of several words, they presently caught the peculiar modification of this dialect, and conversed much better with the natives than we could have done after a long intercourse with them.
175 They were extremely well pleased with this country, but soon perceived
433 it defects, and told us there was but scanty provision of bread-fruit,
[231] few hogs and fowls, and no dogs, which was really the case. In return,
[276] however, they liked the abundance of sugar-canes and of intoxicating
[609] pepper, of which the drink had been offered to captain Cook.

[447 cont.]

000
175 out of the boat. A party of the marines were posted on the beach
648 in case of danger, to protect the captain's clerk, who traded for
[439] provisions. The natives did not express either surprize or dislike
at this proceeding, perhaps because they were unacquainted with its
175 meaning. They received us with acclamations of joy as at Ea-oowhe,
609 and desired us to sit down with them on the rocks along shore, which
133
175 consisted of coral, and were covered with shell sand. We purchased
439 several beautiful parroquets, pigeons, and doves, which they brought
231 to us perfectly tame; and our young Borabora-man Mahine (or Hedeedee)
237 traded with great eagerness for ornaments made of bright red
feathers, which he assured us had an extraordinary value at Taheitee
175 and the Society Islands. Here they were commonly pasted to aprons
292 used in their dances, and made of the fibres of [448] coco-nut,
237
824 or fixed upon banana leaves, forming rhomboidal frontlets or diadems, &c.
000 With a degree of extasy which gave the greatest weight to his assertion,
he shewed us that a little piece of feathered-work, as broad as two
or three fingers, would purchase the largest hog in his island.
● 114 Both this youth and O-Mai were much pleased with the inhabitants of
175 these islands, and began to understand their language tolerably well.

175 We left the beach after the first acquaintance with the natives,
311 and ascended a few feet into a wild forest consisting of tall trees,
[137] intermixed with shrubberies. This wood though narrow, being in
many places not above one hundred yards wide, was continued along
the shore of Van Diemen's road, being more or less open in various
parts. Beyond it the whole island was perfectly level. We walked
across a piece of uncultivated land, about five hundred yards wide,
which adjoined to the wood. Part of it appeared to have been planted

[452 cont.]
175
764 surrounded with the finest groves. That which I have here described,
114 was drawn by Mr. Hodges, and an exact representation of it is inserted
126 in captain Cook's own account of this voyage.

175 We continued our walk through the plantations, and met with
123 very few inhabitants, they being almost all gone towards the trading-
175 place. Those we saw passed by us, or continued their occupations
123 without stopping on our account. Neither curiosity, nor distrust
609 and jealousy excited them to prohibit our farther progress; on the
contrary, they always spoke in a kind tone to us, which sufficiently
175 characterized their disposition. We looked into many of the houses
351
184 and found them empty, but always laid out with mats, and delightfully
[352] situated among odoriferous shrubs. Sometimes they were separated
123]
[417] from the plantations by a little fence, through which a door, like
those of Ea-oowhe, gave admittance, which could be shut on the inside.
In that case only the area, which this fence enclosed around the
hut, was planted with the odoriferous grove, which is so much in
175 request with the natives. A walk of three [453] miles brought us to
133 the eastern shore of the island, where it forms a deep angle, which
Tasman called Maria Bay. Where we fell in with it, the ground sloped
imperceptibly into a sandy beach; but as we walked along towards the
north point, we found it rose perpendicularly, and in some places
it was excavated and overhanging. It consisted, however, entirely
of coral, which is a strong proof of some great change on our globe,
as this rock can only be formed under water. Whether it was left
bare by a gradual diminution of the sea, or perhaps by a more violent
revolution which our earth may formerly have suffered, I shall not
venture to determine. So much, however, may be assumed as a certainty,

[458 cont.]

175 [609] of the inhabitants, under the shade of the wild wood which lined the
coast. There they lighted numerous fires, and were heard conversing
175 during the greatest part of the night. It seems their eagerness
439 to continue the trade with us, would not permit them to return to
their dwellings, which were probably situated in the remotest part
of the island. Our goods were in great repute with them. Nails,
which the natives commonly hung on a string round the neck, or
stuck through the ear, were very current for fowls, and smaller ones
175 for bunches of bananas, and coco-nuts. Their fowls were the largest
231 we had ever seen, and extremely well-tasted. Their plumage was
commonly very glossy, and beautifully coloured with red and gold.
175 Our sailors bought numbers of them, in order to enjoy the barbarous
439 amusement of seeing them fight. From the time of our leaving Huahine,
000 they had daily followed the cruel occupation of tormenting these poor
birds, by trimming their wings, and incensing them against each other.
They [459] had so well succeeded with those of Huahine, that some of
them fought with the most desperate fury of true gamecocks; but
they were well disappointed with those which they purchased at Tonga-
Tabboo, and as they could not make them fight, they were forced to
eat them in revenge.

175 Early the next morning,[A] the captain's friend Attahha or Attagha
565 (see p. 447.)[B] came on board in one of the first canoes, and breakfasted with
[291] us. He was drest in mats, one of which, on account of the coolness of
175 the morning, he had drawn over his shoulders. He resembled all other
565 uncivilized people in the circumstance that his attention could not be
114 fixed to one object for any space of time, and it was difficult to prevail
[126] on him to sit still, whilst Mr. Hodges drew his portrait. An

[A] [5 October—Analyst.] [B] [i.e. p. 37-8 of HRAF manuscript—Analyst.]

[459 cont.]
175 An
565 excellent print, executed by Mr. Sherwin, has been made from his drawing,
114 which expresses the countenance of this chief, and the mild character
[181] of the whole nation, better than any description. It is inserted in
[201] [431] captain Cook's account of this voyage, and represents Attahha in the
action of thanksgiving, laying a nail on his head, which he had
175 received as a present. After breakfast, the captains and my father
565 prepared to return to the shore with him; but just as he was going
152 out of the cabin, he happened to see a Taheitian dog running about the
231 deck; at this sight he could not conceal his joy, but clapped his hands
on his breast, and turning to the captain, repeated the word goorree(15)

[197] 15. Ooree signifies a dog at Taheitee; and ghooree at New Zeeland.

[431] [460] near twenty times. We were much surprised to hear that he knew the
name of an animal which did not exist in his country, and made him a
present of one of each sex, with which he went on shore in an extasy of
175 joy. That the name of dogs should be familiar to a people, who are not
231 possessed of them, seems to prove either that this knowledge has been
propagated by tradition from their ancestors, who migrated hither from
other islands, and from the continent; or that they have had dogs upon
their island, of which the race, by some accident, is become extinct;
or lastly, that they still have an intercourse with other islands where
these animals exist.

126 I remained on board all this day, to arrange the collection of
plants and birds which we had made upon our first excursion, and which
175 was far from despicable, considering the small size of the island. The
501 natives continued to croud about our vessels in a number of canoes,
[481] whilst many were swimming to and from the shore, who were probably not
rich enough to possess a canoe. These embarkations were of different

[462]

175 501 [171] together, of which the planks were sewed in the same manner as in the common canoe; but they were covered all over, and had a kind of elevated stage or platform, like the Taheitian war-canoes (16).

16. See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 221.

[532] Some of them may carry one hundred and fifty men; and their sails, which are latine, are made of strong mats, in which the rude figure of a tortoise or a cock, &c. is sometimes represented (17). As a

175 501 114

17. The figure of a canoe in Schouten's voyage, gives a very good idea of one of the sailing-boats of Tonga-Tabboo. See Dalrymple's Collection, vol. II. pag, 17,18.

farther detail would be tedious to most readers, and instructive only to mariners, I omit it in this place, and refer those who wish to be better acquainted with the subject to the accurate figures with which Mr. Hodges has ornamented captain Cook's account of this voyage.

175 501 171 I shall only observe, that it appears probable from the good construction of the sailing-boats, that the inhabitants of these islands are more experienced mariners than those of Taheitee and the Society Isles.

175 302 [237] Among the great numbers of people who surrounded our ships, we observed several whose hair seemed to be burnt at the ends, and were strewed with a white powder. Upon examination we found that this powder was nothing else than lime, made of shells or coral, which had corroded or burnt the hair. The taste of powdering was at its height [463] in this island. We observed a man who had employed a blue powder, and many persons of both sexes who wore an orange powder, made of turmerick. St. Jerom, who preached against the vanities of the age, very seriously reprehends a similar custom in the Roman ladies: "Ne irrufet crines, et anticipet sibi ignes Gehennae!" Thus, by an

175 302 171

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73: Morton E-5 (1970-1971) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9
Puke

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CHAPTER I

PROBLEM AND PROCEDURE

Introduction

121 (114) In this dissertation the fit between behavior and a conscious model for behavior is examined. The data utilized in this study were obtained in Tonga as part of my research on the topics of village economies and kinship reciprocity.

The study of the relationship between ideals and behavior is one of considerable importance. I think it is evident that some social scientists operate as if conscious models and behavior reflect the same reality or else they do not consider the problem at all. Later I will give examples of how such positions have led to misleading statements about Tongan kinship and exchange. It is also true that people may think their conscious model of some area of behavior reflects the behavior pattern actually present in that area. [602] [829] For instance, Tongans believe that their pattern of behavior in their relationships with kinsmen conforms to their model of kinship reciprocity. By examining the fit between ideals, conscious models, and behavior, something valuable may be learned about both folk and scientific conceptualization of social reality.

In addition to the problem established above, this study includes description and analysis of Tongan kinship. As will be evident later

121 125 involving residents of that village during the active research period.

121 124 125 A sample of adoption transactions was obtained in another village by an exhaustive sample of households. In each household the household head or his spouse was asked about the adoptive status of each of their children. Then information pertaining to the adoptive status of the household head and his siblings was obtained along with the same information for his spouse. The sample of adoptions and sample B discussed above provide the data for the behavioral patterns presented in Chapter VI. These samples will be more fully described where they are relevant to description or analysis.

[123] The conscious model of kinship reciprocity consists of data collected using the informal technique of participant-observation. In this case the conscious model was elicited again and again under various circumstances and from many different informants. The conscious model as presented in Chapter VI is a standardized version of ideals generally recognizable by members of the Tongan community. I think it safe to say that the conscious model is shared and accepted throughout Tongan society.

Field Techniques and Circumstances

● 114 101 Active research in the village selected as the research location began in December, 1970, and ended in September, 1971; throughout this period I had almost daily contact with the residents of this village.

123 I used the technique of participant-observation to collect data on several topics including social structure, kinship, subsistence, adop-

123 tion and fosterage, and interpersonal relationships generally.

125 Early in the research period a census of the village was conducted to obtain demographic information including data on housing, landholding status, and dominant economic pursuits for each household in the village.

124 Information on exchange events was collected by using formal survey
123 techniques, but I might indicate here that survey research would have been difficult without first establishing myself as a rather consistent and benign part of the village milieu.[1] [A] Participant-observation also allowed me to observe much of the material I recorded through the surveys and thereby provided an informal check on reliability and validity of that information.[2] [B]

124 I do not pretend that the data on exchange events are perfectly accurate or representative of all exchanges. For instance, I know that informants failed to mention many exchange events which involved small, and what they considered to be insignigicant, items such as coconuts, salt, water and a number of other items; this was particularly true early in the research period. In fact, one household head was removed from the sample because he consistently gave information on only the exchange of large, prestigious items. Two others had to be deleted because of their absence during the research period.

114 During research an assistant acted as interpreter when necessary
122 and provided valuable assistance in arranging transportation, inter-
124 views, and in establishing rapport with informants. I had two assis-
114 115 tants during two different periods and found both to be willing and

A,B.[For footnotes, see p. 122--Analyst]

114 115 capable helpers, who were themselves constantly available as informants.

122 [124] [125] My own lack of competence in the Tongan language was a limiting factor but I was able to conduct inquiry into certain area in Tongan, primarily kinship and exchange, and I could administer the survey questionnaires. Only two of the adults in the village had any degree [124] of competence in English, and both were usually unavailable as interpreters or informants.

121 The village I chose in which to conduct the study was selected primarily because of its convenient location and relatively small size.[3] [A] Puke is a typical of Tongatapu villages as it includes many recent immigrants from relatively isolated areas of the Kingdom, and can be generally described as one of the less developed villages. However, these characteristics of the village were only known in retrospect and it was not chosen because of them.

[A] [For footnote, see p. 122--Analyst]

166 wage labor as incentive for immigrating.

166
602 Recent immigration to Puke followed a pattern dependent on the immigrant having kin ties to persons already residing in the village. For instance, the seven Puke household heads from the Niua islands form two separate groups of kinsmen; each group was begun by one man marrying a woman of Puke, residing uxorilocally, and then being followed by other close kinsmen. This pattern of immigration is widespread on Tongataup and is based on the reliance upon kinsmen for access to land. [114] Walsh (1969: 95) has documented this process in Nuku'alofa.

Village Leadership

621
622 Village leadership is concentrated in three positions: town officer (ofisi kolo), noble ('eiki), and church steward. In Puke the sole representative of the government is the town officer; as such his role is primarily that of messenger and organizer while important decisions are made at higher levels. [621] [625] [205] Government related tasks of the town officer are delivering government orders in the fono, carrying out certain police functions, accepting delivery of village mail and other minor administrative functions. However limited the official powers of the [554] town officer, his sphere of influence may be increased by such factors as kin alliances, control of land or other wealth, and oratorical ability. [666] The town officer is the only elected village leader.

621
565 Puke is a rather atypical village in that the noble, who holds the estate upon which Puke is located, resides in the village. Most nobles choose to live in Nuku'alofa and are represented in their villages by

CHAPTER III

CONCEPTS OF KINSHIP

602 The Tongans' conscious model of kinship reciprocity is based upon their concept of the relative rank between kinsmen. In this chapter I 128 602 will describe the concept of kin ranking and the criteria used to establish relative rank. The groups and categories of people formed by Tongan notions of descent, filiation, and affiliation will also be presented and discussed.

The Study of Nonunilineal Descent

121 611 114 The literature available on Tongan kinship contains conflicting statements concerning the ideology of descent and the nature of groups formed by that ideology. Consequently, I will begin by describing this conflict and discussing it in terms of my observations and analysis.

114 611 Nonunilineal forms of descent have only recently come under detailed discussion by anthropologists; Goodenough (1955,1970), Firth (1957), Murdock (1960), Freeman (1961), Davenport (1959), and Fox (1967) have all contributed substantially to the discussion and understanding of nonunilineal systems. Modern studies of such descent systems have shown the need for a refinement and clarification of concepts used by anthropologists for analysis of kinship. Curiously enough the concept of descent itself has been insufficiently defined and used with a variety of meanings. Ward Goodenough (1970: 39) contends that anthropolo-

114 611 gists have used descent to mean

> ...theories of biological kinship, forms of family organization, rules of kin group membership, and rules of succession to political office and to social and property intitlements as if they were all necessarily reflections of the same thing.

121 611 In this discussion, I will not attempt to define descent generally, but rather I will specify its various meanings and functions as used in this study.

611 Within Tongan society three functions of descent can be conceptually distinguished. The first function of descent is surrounding ego with a personal kindred and defining his relationships to kin categories within the kindred. A second function of descent is structuring the succession to titles and corporeal property. A third, less clear and less definable, function associates ego with a locale and a group of kinsmen residing in the same locale.

114 611 The failure to separate conceptually the function of descent has been a recurring problem in ethnographic reports on Tonga. Gifford [428] (1929) overemphasized the function of inheritance of titles and land and consequently gave a destorted view of Tongan kin ideology.

[613]

> The lineages are patrilineal. Each consists of a nucleus of related chiefs about whom are grouped inferior relatives; the lowest and most remote of whom are commoners. Some commoners are not aware of their lineage as such, but most are and claim relationship to some chief, usually the one under whom they live. Thus the commoners living under the chief, Ata, are reckoned as of his lineage, Ha'a Ngata Motua. The landed chiefs of today are all grouped in lineages (Gifford 1929: 30).

114 611 612 A view opposing that of Gifford's is presented by Beaglehole (1941) and Aoyagi (1966). Both of their accounts stress bilateral reckoning and the personal kindred as the dominant characteristic of Tongan kinship.

000 kinship. In discussing lineage or rammage organization of the type
114 613 Gifford described, Beaglehole wrote, "...there are no strong lineage-feelings among the villagers, nor any strong lineage-groupings. None of them had any association with, nor any interest in, the classic lineages of Tonga..." (Beaglehole 1941: 71). Aoyagi, drawing on data from a village study, said "...an internal stratified system as the result of ramification...cannot be possibly found in this village" (1966: 173).

114 611 These two contrasting interpretations of Tongan descent are the result of a failure to distinguish sufficiently the various functions of descent, and a failure to realize that different functions of descent may be associated with different social groupings and different ideologies. The failure can be attributed to the fact that at the time the researchers responsible were writing, little had been published concerning nonunilineal descent, and to the fact that Gifford, Beaglehole, and Aoyagi apparently confined their research to one segment of society and tended to generalize from the one segment to the society as a whole.

Implicit in the work of Kaeppler (1971) is an understanding of the separate functions of Tongan descent and the separate social entities
114 611 613 and ideologies fulfilling those functions. She defines ha'a as "societal groupings" and states that,

> Ha'a cannot be uniformly subdivided to form family groups, as one might ideally expect in terms of collateral segmentation. Instead, ha'a are societal divisions that have political functions and can be conceptually separated from the kinship system (although there is a great deal of interaction between them) (1971: 177).

114 612 613 Kaeppler is non-commital in discussing the nature of the relationship between the personal kindred and the lineage system. In the quote above she says the two "...can be conceptually distinguished..." and adds the cautious statement that "...there is a great deal of interaction between them." One of Kaeppler's own comments suggests that the distinction between the two is more real than conceptual.

[428] [593] [604]

> Even though a man may inherit a noble's title, together with a great deal of land and material wealth, he still avoids his sister, treats his brother nearly as an equal, defers to his father's sister and gives anything she wants, demands pigs from his mother's brother, and allows his sister's children to take any of his possessions (1971: 177).

This statement comes closer to the position which states that an individual's position in the lineage system has very little to do with his relationship to his kindred.

121 128 The discussion above serves to illustrate that Tongan kinship performs several functions and one cannot hope to describe kinship by focusing on one function. Below I will present a description of Tongan kinship based on the data I collected and analyzed with the thought in mind that different kinship functions may be fulfilled by different ideologies and structures.

Kainga: A Personal Kindred

612 The Kāinga is a true bilateral kindred inclusive of all consanguines to whom ego can trace a relationship either through his mother or his father. Kāinga does not include affines. Kāinga is not a corporate group, but a body of kinsmen may be recruited from it to act corporately for specific occasions, e.g., weddings, funerals, and

613 565 of Fohe, the noble of Puke, claimed to be 'eiki 'chiefly' by virtue of their relationship to Fohe. I was not able to establish exactly how distant a kinsman of the noble could call himself 'eiki but a classificatory grandson did not make the claim. The people claiming to be 'eiki by virtue of their relationship to Fohe were said to belong to Ha'a Fohe.

613 565 114 My data would seem to indicate that commoners are commoners because they are not members of ha'a. Gifford claimed that commoners were commoners because they were low-ranking members of ha'a. Concerning the membership of ha'a Gifford states, "Each consists of a nucleus of related chiefs about whom are grouped inferior relatives, the lowest and most remote of whom are commoners" (1929: 30).

Adrienne Kaeppler apparently found a situation similar to the one I described for Puke as she says, "A chief's 'people' need not be related to him by blood, but rather are associated with him by virtue of living on the land (tofi'a) which goes with his title" (1971: 188).

613 565 The present day position of most commoners in regard to ha'a can be summarized as affiliation with, but not membership in, the ha'a of the noble on whose estate they reside. This, of course, does not preclude a commoner claiming ties with a ha'a through consanguineal links.

Inheritance

428 424 [656] Land and titles are the two most important properties transferred through inheritance. Titles that are associated with estates are only awarded at the discretion of the government. Ideally, titles are inherited by the rule of primogeniture; the male claimant with the closest

The Sociology of Food

262 (114) Maude (1965) presents a good description of Tongan garden products, but being interested in other matters he included only scant information on the relationship between food and the social aspects of Tongan life. (574) (554) Food is ranked just as are most aspects of culture important in Tongans, and feasts are important occasions where the ranking of food should match the ranking of those who partake of it.

Tongans divide food into three major, unranked groups: kiki 'flesh', me'akai 'starchy tubers', and foi'akau 'fruits'. Food as a whole is referred to as kai or me'akai. The three major divisions described above are not ranked, a complete meal requiring all three. Individual components of the kiki group and the me'akai group are ranked as to their importance. Ranking varies somewhat from individual to individual, particularly among the least prestigious components. Below I have listed what seems to be a fairly consistent rank ordering of the me'akai and kiki groups:

	Kiki			Me'akai	
1.	puaka	- pork (highest rank)	1.	'ufi	- yam (highest rank)
2.	pulu	- beef	2.	'ufilei	- sweet yam
3.	kosi	- goat	3.	kumala	- sweet potato
4.	moa	- chicken	4.	talo	- taro
5.	'ika	- fish	5.	kape	- giant taro
			6.	mei	- breadfruit
			7.	manioke	- cassava
			8.	hopa	- plantain

262 554 The composition of a family's diet is very much an indicator of status. For instance, a man who continually brings only bananas and

CHAPTER VI

IDEOLOGY AND BEHAVIOR

128 121 In this chapter I will present the conscious model of kinship reciprocity and compare it with the patterns of reciprocity I observed in adoption transactions and in the transfer of material items. The procedure will be to describe the conscious model, see if it is predictive of behavior, and then discuss the results of such a comparison.

The Conscious Model

602 554 The basic characteristic of the conscous model is that it describes the rights and duties existing between ego and the several kin categories, and bases the distribution of rights and duties on the concept of
602 554 114 kin ranking. Although the conscious model I present here is based on primary data that I obtained, other researchers in Tonga have noticed and recorded similar data. E.W. Gifford (1929: 17-19) discusses the effect of relative ranking on behavior, Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole discusss some implications of kin ranking for kinship reciprocity (1941: 76-78), and Adrienne Kaeppler, after discussing kinship rank, said

> [612] [431] [437] The economic implications of status within the system of exchanges among the kāinga can be characterized as indirect reciprocity, i.e., goods and services go from ego and his siblings to his patrilateral relatives, while he exacts goods and services from his matrilateral relatives (1971: 179).

However, none of these researchers has presented any data on exchange that would indicate whether the conscious model is actually reflected

602 554 by behavior or not.

(114) 602 554 183 431 437 Below I have listed the kinship dyads and described the ideal behavior for each dyad as it exists in the conscious model. The kin terms are defined and discussed in Chapter III.

Fa'e-*Tama*: A woman should treat those she refers to as *tama* in a protective and loving manner; she should look after their physical and emotional needs with only *tama's* well-being in mind. In return *tama* should behave in a loving and respectful manner toward *fa'e*. Women should not punish *tama* with more than mild physical abuse. *Fa'e* is of lower rank than *tama* and the flow of goods should be from *fa'e* to *tama*.

Fa'e Tangata-*'Ilamutu*: *'Ilamutu* has an almost unrestrained access to the goods and services controlled by *fa'e tangata*, and may act in a demeaning and overbearing manner toward him. *Fa'e tangata* should submit to the demands of *'ilamutu*. *Fa'e tangata* is of lower rank than *'ilamutu* and the flow of goods and services should be from *fa'e tangata* to *'ilamutu*.

Tamai-*Foha*: *Tamai* is responsible for the moral welfare and direction of *foha*; toward that end he demands respect and obedience of *foha*. [784] This relationship is marked by several prohibitions which indicate a discouragement of familiarity between the principals. *Foha* cannot wear the clothing of *tamai*, cannot use his personal possessions, must not eat from the same serving of food, nor sleep on *tamai's* bed. *Foha* should not stand to speak to a *tamai* who is sitting, and should not interrupt *tamai* while he is speaking to others. The flow of goods and services should be from *foha* to *tamai*.

121 relative wealth, friendship status, and religious affiliation of potential exchange partners. Obviously a number of variables could be proposed as possible components of a complete decision-making model, but the construction of such a model is beyond the purview of this study.

All of this discussion is speculative and must remain so, but it is appropriate to reconsider some of the discussion in Chapter I. The results of this study are strong confirmation of Levi-Strauss's statement, "For conscious models, which are usually known as 'norms' are by difinition very poor ones (explanation), since they are not intended to explain the phenomena but to perpetuate them" (1968: 281). It also seems that David Bidney's statement is accurate.

> In the sphere of the social sciences and human studies, this ideal truth represents a norm, or goal, of human potentialities, but does not correspond to any actual, historical cultural situation. Here too, cultural ideals are 'social facts' but they are facts of a different order from the empirical facts of a given culture (1955: 218-419).

Summary

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437 Tongan behavior in the activity system of exchange is not predictable by knowledge of the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. Instead, the basic characteristic of exchange behavior is reliance upon members of one's family of orientation as a continuing unit for resource sharing. The pattern of behavior also indicates that a balance flow of goods exists between kin categories rather than the one-way flow stipulated by the conscious model.

● [114] The results of this study are contrary to the statements made about Tongan kinship reciprocity by Beaglehole and Kaeppler (cited above).

602 593 These authors apparently assumed that the conscious model of kinship
431 reciprocity was an accurate summary of exchange behavior. Such a con-
437 clusion should only be made after checking the fit between behavior and
114 the model.

121 Conscious models do not necessarily reflect behavior as they may not function to order empirical phenomena but rather establish order at another level of reality. Conscious models order the mind and its perception of the empirical world, not the empirical world itself.

74: Urbanowicz OU9 Tonga OU9

114

[For information on Urbanowicz's assessment of historical documents, see Category 127.]

127 The above ethnographic reconstruction of the '*inasi* ceremony
796 provides some new ethnohistorical evidence which enables us to confirm
651 or deny certain statements made by 20th Century scholars. Gifford
114 (1929: 76) was correct when he wrote that the *Tu'i Tonga* acted "as
[643] intermediary" between the Tongan people and the gods, but he was in
error when he wrote that the '*inasi* ceremony would be "impossible
without" the *Tu'i Tonga* (*ibid.*), as Lawry's citation from 1822 makes
quite clear. Since Gifford was working with 20th Century informants
"memory culture" of an aboriginal ceremony in 1920-1921, and since the
'*inasi* ceremony was no longer performed when Gifford was in Tonga, this
is a good example of the justification of ethnographic reconstruction:
one reconstructs on the basis of eyewitness accounts and not on memory
[643] culture. Gifford points out that Farmer, an individual who published a
[776] book in 1855 (based on some missionary information), stated that the
Tu'i Tonga "was the high priest" of Hikuleo and it was in Hikuleo's
honor that the '*inasi* took place; but Gifford also points out that he
was unable to verify this statement when he did his work in 1920-1921
127 (Gifford 1929: 345). Because the ethnohistorical researcher pieces to-
114 gether an historical ethnography on the basis of verifiable evidence of
the past, he is "closer" to the actual aboriginal social and cultural
behavior than the ethnographer who attempts a reconstruction by means
of the memory information of the present.

[643] Gifford could not make a statement of ethnographic fact concern-
[776] ing the relationship between the *Tu'i Tonga* and the deity Hikuleo, but
I can make a statement of ethnohistorical fact that the *Tu'i Tonga* was
representative of Hikuleo.

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
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representative of Hikuleo. Similarly, in his Ancient Polynesian Society (1970), Goldman is unable to reconcile the contradictory published information on the Tu'i Tonga (Ibid., p. 294) because of the passage of time and insufficient ethnohistorical evidence in the published ethnographies of Tonga.

FOOTNOTES

Notes for Chapter I

161 [1]A numerical estimate of the indigenous Tongan population for
the year 1800 would fall within the range of fifteen to twenty thousand.
The most frequently cited figure is that of 18,500 recorded by
Wilkes in 1840 from the Wesleyan missionaries (1845, III: 29), but
this is greatly at odds with a Wesleyan estimate of 50,000 for 1847
162 (Lawry 1850: 245; Vide McArthur 1967: 73). An intriguing population
total for Tongatapu alone was made by an Australian sea captain in
1824: he placed the population of the main island at 34,800 (Beveridge
114 1824 Letter). Unfortunately, I believe the captain had less than the
goals of a preliminary census taker at heart but more the eye of a
businessman cum sea captain who was trying to convince the Wesleyan
missionaries at Sydney, Australia, with whom he was acquainted, of the
tremendous potential sales market for material goods and Christianity
in the archipelago.

797 [2]This list is based on Minns (1930; 1933). Missionaries who only
passed through the archipelago are not included in this list. This includes
Hazlewood, who was in Tonga in 1844 and Thompson who was in
127 Tonga in 1850. A comparison of the list with the manuscript bibliography
of this work will partially indicate the number of manuscript
[113] material which have survived into this Century. Many of these Wesleyan
missionaries had letters in the Mitchell Library microfilm series
FM4/1417 to FM4/1421. These letters were read in the course of the
research but unless they were specifically cited in this presentation,
these individual letters do not appear in this bibliography.

121 [3]The Swanton volume is an excellent example of ethnohistory contributing to ethnographic reconstruction (Bushnell) and culture history (Fenton).

[4]The historical aspect of Pacific culture was given impetus by the establishment in 1950 of the Department of Pacific History at the Australian National University, Canberra, Australia. Maude wrote that "the historical study of the Pacific Islands could be said to have commenced as an organized specialization within the general discipline of history" in 1950 (Maude 1968: xv). Even though "Pacific History" as an organized discipline began the movement to archival sources, the interest of Pacific historians have not necessarily coincided with the interests of ethnohistorians; and even though Pacific historians have done extensive archival research, their published works do not delineate the historical method which they applied to their sources.

127 114 104 [4] Scholarly works have often been inconsistent for Tonga and for other parts of Polynesia when it comes to the hamza. Buck points out that the hamza had not been used on a Hawai'ian dictionary as late as 1922 although it had been used in a Samoan dictionary published in 1911; he also pointed out that Bishop Museum publications of the early 20th Century were often lacking and inconsistent in the use of the hamza--the hamza was included in some scholarly works and omited in others and even the same word in the same text was, at times, spelled with and without the hamza (Buck 1945: 38). See Freeman (1972) for a recent statement on the lack of the hamza for Samoan work.

Notes for Chapter III

121 [1] See Dan Hollander, writing of "Social Description: The Problem of Reliability and Validity" who writes: "Scientific 'facts' in their own right do not exist. No 'fact' is ever 'pure' and 'objective.' Significance and interpretation are never simply contained in the facts. One cannot simply gather or discover facts. What we call facts are really constructions of the mind, isolated from a complex and as yet confused reality, with the help of definitions and classifications we have made ourselves. We find 'facts' by a process of selection which inevitably entails evaluation, the criterion being used: is it relevant for what we are doing, will it be useful? We note and mention then because we already have an idea about the way they are linked up, - an idea only partly produced by these facts. It is a mental game of leapfrog with influences working both ways. On this basis we pay attention to one thing and not to another; it makes us observe in a particular way and perceive particular things and it determines the way our findings are provisionally put together. In the course of this we are forced by what we observe to modify the provisional assumptions, which then opens our eyes to other 'facts' and so on" (1967: 6-7). On a similar point, see Malinowski (1935, I: 465) who writes "here I want to drive home the most important principle of method in field-work: that without a theoretical grasp of the problem it is impossible to make relevant observations. An empirical and scientific theory of fact is necessary as a chart for observation and as a check on observations. Without a theory there can be no fruitful research;" and Nadel (1956: 167) who writes of theory as providing "something like a conceptual blueprint, mapping out the problem areas, indicating their presumed significance, and generally foreshadowing lines of inquiry."

[2] In setting off culture as a construct, I am thus distinguishing it from society, another construct of the same empirical reality (*Vide* Geertz 1957: 33ff.; Firth 1951, 1961: 27; Firth 1968; Mandelbaum 1968; and Singer 1968). In distinguishing culture from society, I do not go as far as White, who reifies the former, and Durkheim, who reifies the latter. Culture and society both have their locus in the individual and I cannot agree with Durkheim when he writes that "society is a

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
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NIH Traineeship, Department of Anthropology, University of Oregon, 1970-1972.

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u
Pangai

121 contemporary Polynesian natives. He may do this again from two points of view: first, making an evaluation of the role of nonorganic factors in personality growth; and second (and reversely), providing a rough index of personal disorganization and psychic stress among individuals in selected societies.

For both points of view, much of the success of this type of study depends upon clear knowledge of the present cultural patterns in a given society, their present integration and homogeneity. It is through this knowledge that one will be best able to interpret the data selected and collected. For the first point of view expressed above, it is necessary, I think, that we have more investigations made into the life of Polynesian children.[1] An acceptable scheme of study, as Margaret Mead has recently suggested, might well be elaborated by experts to ensure comparability of data collected by subsequent investigators. The second point of view involves first, I think, the statistical study (where statistics are available) of mental disorder among different cultural groups in Polynesia today and, secondly, case studies of psychic stress among natives and others subjected to the strains of cultural adaptation.

At the present time quantitative studies of mental disorder are possible in both Hawaii and New Zealand. In Hawaii one may compare, though not without difficulty, the incidence of mental disease among the native Hawaiians and other cultural groups (Japanese, Korean, Filipino, etc.) that constitute this modern melting pot of races. In New Zealand it is also possible to compare the same incidence for Maori and White. A preliminary survey in both areas[2] leads me to feel that this method might well be elaborated and refined in its application so as to produce valuable scientific data on the incidence of mental disorganization among Polynesian peoples subjected to the strains of adjusting to changing social standards. It is unfortunate from the viewpoint of the Polynesian student that no attempt has yet been made to keep statistics (not even the simplest) regarding incidence of mental disease in Fiji. Provision exists in Suva for the segregation of psychotics. An adequate quantitative analysis of psychosis among the cultural groups in Fiji today (East Indian, Chinese, native Fijian, etc.) would doubtless provide valuable comparative material.

Recorded studies of psychic stress among present-day Polynesians are not voluminous.[3] Yet such studies, as Hallowell and others have shown for the American Indian,[4] are likely not only to yield information about the specific culture studied but also to provide comparative material which at least serves to focus many problems of contemporary personality research.

114 The following material from Tonga is quite incomplete. It was collected as a sideline to other investigations. But it has the value, I think, of giving new insights into contemporary Tongan society. The psychological interpretations offered all suffer from varying amounts of guesswork. This is inevitable inasmuch as the time at my disposal was short and informants were busy with ordinary economic activities. The value of the theorizing, therefore, lies mainly in any illumination it gives into the lives of individual Tongans and, again,

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113 [1] See Ernest Beaglehole, "Polynesian Anthropology Today," *Am. Anthropologist*, Vol. 39, No. 2, p. 220.

113 [2] Beaglehole, *Some Modern Hawaiians*, Appendix B on "Culture and Psychosis in Hawaii," University of Hawaii Research Bulletin (in press); *ibid.*, "Psychosis in New Zealand," *Jour. Polynesian Society* (in press).

113 [3] Note, however, Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York, 1929), chs. 10, 11, and appendix iv.

113 [4] References will be found in Hallowell's studies; for a guide to which see A. I. Hallowell, "Shabwán: A Dissocial Indian Girl," *Am. Jour. Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1938, p. 330.

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u
Pangai

as an illustration of an attack that might well be more fruitful in other and 114
more competent hands.[5]

DREAMS AND PSYCHIC STRESS

Dreaming occurs fairly frequently among the villagers of Pangai. Men had 154
no hesitation in telling their dreams to us or else recording them for us. The
women, however, were much shyer and it was only by considerable perseverance [123]
that Pearl Beaglehole was able to record any dreams at all from women
informants. There is no reason for thinking that women dream less than men.
Many dreams seem to be in terms of conventional cultural symbols and are 154
given a conventional interpretation by the Tongans. Thus for a husband to 828
dream of money or a ring is a sign that his wife is pregnant. Dreams portending 787
death, usually of a member of the family or some other close relative, are
those of teeth falling out (said to be a common type of dream), dreams of
feces on the body, dreams of touching or handling a hen's egg.[6] Dreams of
approaching fire or of slipping down into a bottomless pit are terror dreams,
generally interpreted as warnings of possible punishment should the dreamer
continue to commit minor sinful acts. One informant also stated that dreams 154
could be used to validate medicinal recipes. His mother's father was visited 787
by a female spirit in a dream and given a successful recipe to cure barrenness 828
and sterility in women. 787

Wish-fulfilment dreams appear to be frequent and capable of easy interpretation. 154
The following are examples of this type of dream:

Case 1.—Avai, a boy of 18, home on vacation from a Seventh-Day Adventist 159
College in Nukualofa, reported to me several dreams in which "a girl friend"
appeared and offered herself to him in sexual intercourse. Tongan sexual [836]
morality among young people is relatively strict. Avai had previously been [873]
asked to leave the Government College, Nukualofa, for absenting himself at
night from the college. He had determined to reform, but the occurrence of
this type of dream suggests that his reforming zeal was not without its
intrapsychic conflict.

Case 2.—Loata, a woman of about 35, our next-door neighbor and one very
poor, even according to Tongan standards, narrated the following dream to
Pearl Beaglehole: "You brought me a beautiful new dress as a gift and also
a lot of pins to fasten it together after it had been fitted. My daughter Saane
(6 years old) ran away with the pins, and when I chased her she suddenly
changed into Saane Tapaka (a girl of 18 employed by us as housegirl, with
the same first name as the daughter—we had previously given Saane T. a
dress). I could not catch her, and when I came back to my house to get the
dress I found you had gone and the dress was nowhere to be found." This
dream is, I think, self-explanatory. Loata dressed for the most part in rags [291]
because her husband was too poor to buy new piece goods at the village store.

Case 3.—Kafa, a young woman of 18 years, married for two years without [842]
yet becoming pregnant (a rarity in Tonga), confesses to many dreams in
which she gives birth to and nurses an infant. She also dreams occasionally
that her husband, the local storekeeper and a hardworking man, has eloped

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[5] Field work on which this paper was based was carried out in Tonga, December, 1938, [101]
to February, 1939. Pearl Beaglehole and I lived in the village of Pangai, Vava'u, a small Tongan community about six miles distant from Neiafu, government and trading center for Vava'u, the northern group of Tongan islands, 170 miles away by sea from Nukualofa, capital of the Tongan kingdom. The population of Pangai is about 270. Pearl Beaglehole helped me collect the material here recorded. Dr. J. C. Lopdell, Assistant Medical Officer, Vava'u, kindly gave me the information on which Case 10 (below) is based.

[6] E. W. Gifford, "Tongan Society," *Bishop Museum Bull.* 61, 1929, pp. 337–338, gives [113]
several further examples.

PSYCHOSIS AND RELIGIOUS SYMBOLISM

121 The dreams that I have so far mentioned are of interest because they give an
indication of some of the main lines of psychic stress in a Tongan village.
159 Through the courtesy of Dr. J. C. Lopdell I was able also to observe a manic-
[114] depressive patient, the onset of whose psychosis seems to be due to anxiety
158 over the welfare of an adolescent daughter. The patterning of the psychosis
771 is almost exclusively in terms of symbolism taken from Wesleyan Christian-
ity. This again suggests the significance of religion in the everyday life of
the Tongans. None thought it strange or unusual that religion should figure
so prominently in the symptoms of the psychotic. The interest of this case
justifies a full description. I present it therefore as I recorded it at the time.

158 *Case 10.*—Manic-depressive psychosis. There was a message awaiting the
159 doctor when we came back to dinner, asking him to go down to the jail. The
jailer's wife had been screaming and yelling and fighting all night, apparently,
and all day. Could he do anything for her? The doctor sent up to the hospital
for some morphine and a hypodermic syringe. We both went to the jail. The
jailer's wife was sitting on the floor in a small, dark, windowless cell, her
husband hanging to one arm, a friend clutching the other. Every few minutes
she vomited forth a flood of excited Tongan, then screeched and struggled
and cursed everyone present. She was quite obviously in a manic state, and
morphine brought an immediate release for her and a few hours' rest for her
guardians.

Her history, as her daughter Mele gave it, is significant for the sidelight it gives on Tongan life today. The woman was always considered peculiar by her friends, in the sense that she showed little discretion—had no feeling for the Aristotelian golden mean, if you like—in the way she carried out Tongan patterns of behavior. She always went to church more frequently than her neighbors, prayed more vigorously, sang more loudly. Whenever there was a feast or a gift-giving, she wasted more food than her friends and gave away in an unseemly fashion everything her hands touched in her house. She was definitely queer, both her family and her friends were sure. Moreover, all her pride and affection were centered on her daughter Mele, a buxom, full-spirited, definitely pretty lass of about seventeen with a high reputation as a dancer and definitely attractive to the local youth. Quite recently Mele had visited Nukualofa and unofficially borrowed two "hot-cha" gramophone records to take with her as a present to some Nukualofa lad. There was some unpleasantness over the records when Mele returned to Neiafu. Most forgot about the matter, except Mele's mother and one of her local church enemies, an old hag who probably envied Mele her youth. Quite recently the mother and the hag had been quarrelling violently, the backbiting coming to a head the day before we visited the jail, when the hag, seeking to score a body blow, threatened to revive public interest in Mele's gramophone records and have Mele committed to jail as a common thief. The blow was shrewd and thoughtless, probably. But it lodged against the mother's unbalanced head. She went to bed worrying. She awoke in the middle of the night a raving maniac.

The interest of all this, I take it, is the way in which Mele's mother patterns
158 her anxiety. She is deeply religious, slightly unbalanced, devoted to her
159 daughter, and intensely worried about the daughter. The strain is too strong
771 for her mind to bear. She suffers from mania. And the maniacal ravings are
all phrased in religious concepts. She calls Mele pure, unsullied, lovely, a true
bride of Christ. She prays incessantly to God, urging him, nay, demanding
of him that he forgive and protect her daughter from any shameful harm.
She offers herself as a sacrifice to atone for Mele's possible sinfulness. Then

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

The conspicuous and apparently well-established cultigens, as well as introduced weedy species, were either collected or noted and are, for the most part, included, as I believe that such information is of value in helping formulate a proper concept of the flora of any region. So far as I know, many of these introduced or migrant species are covered in no previous report on the Tongan flora. 126

In this work, 49 lower cryptogams, 71 pteridophytes, and 630 spermatophytes are recognized, making a total of 750 species and varieties. 137

The late Sir Peter Buck, then Director of Bishop Museum, originally suggested the desirability of a botanical survey of Tonga and assisted in the preliminary plans. The government of Tonga was interested in the project and, through Prince Tungi, rendered aid in every way possible. Mr. Willy Straatmans, Director of the Department of Agriculture, was most helpful in arranging for transportation between the islands, for living quarters in government rest houses, and for local transportation by land-rover on the islands of Tongatapu and Vava'u. 122

I was fortunate in obtaining the assistance of W. Toluta'u Ha'angana, a member of the Tongan department of agriculture staff, who served as chief assistant for the entire period of the work. "Tolu" proved to be a most intelligent and cooperative assistant at all times, and his knowledge of Tongan plants was considerable. Most of the local names given in this report were supplied by him, as well as the information about the uses made of the plants by the Tongan people. On many occasions his explanation for our presence on plantations or other private property of suspicious owners unable to understand English smoothed the way and avoided trouble. His agility in procuring drinking coconuts was likewise much appreciated. 114 [115]

Tongans do not always distinguish between closely related plants and sometimes apply the same name to more than one species. Also, occasionally the same name is given to widely different species, leading one to suspect that some names are erroneous. Such presumed errors were checked as far as possible and, if obviously wrong, eliminated. Where two or more names have been supplied for a given species, the one believed to be more commonly used is listed first. 824 [128]

In the identification of the collections I am greatly indebted to a number of specialists. The fleshy fungi were identified by Dr. J. A. Stevenson; the liverworts, by Dr. Margaret Fulford; the lichens, by Dr. Carroll W. Dodge; the mosses, by Mr. E. B. Bartram, who also furnished the description of the new species; the description of the new *Podocarpus*, by Mrs. Netta Gray; the pteridophytes (excepting *Selaginella*), by Mr. C. V. Morton; *Selaginella*, by Mr. A. H. G. Alston; the grasses, by Dr. J. R. Swallen; the orchids, by Mr. Charles Schweinfurth; *Ficus*, by Mr. W. J. H. Corner; *Pipturus* and *Santalum*, by Dr. Carl Skottsberg; certain members of the Apocynaceae, by 000

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

NOTES ON TONGAN ETHNOLOGY

By J. D. Whitcombe[1]

HOUSE-BUILDING

The framework of a native house is made of coconut palms 342 thinned down to the sizes required. First the roof (*kahoki* or *sa*) is [824] made; then the thin ribs (*aonui*) which run from end to end of the house. For the ceiling. heavier beams (*lalago*) are used; there may be two or four of these. depending upon the size of the house. Resting on the four house posts are two cross beams (*apai*). also of heavy coconut wood.

Coconut wood is not used for the house posts. A stronger tree, [824] such as the *koka*. the *filimoto*, the *gesi*. or the *bonmuli* usually is chosen. When the house posts have been erected. the ceiling beams strongly bound with *kafa* put in place. and the ribs for the roof attached. the structure is ready for roof and sides. The roof is usually [824] thatched with coconut leaves or with *au* (a plant closely resembling the sugar cane). The leaves of the *au* do not rot as do those of sugar cane, and they withstand the weather so well that houses thatched with *au* have been known to last as long as fourteen years. The young *au* leaves (*ho au*) are threaded on split *kaho* sticks to make the thatch (*tui au*) which is tied to the roof ribs from the inside with *kafa*. The *tui au* is placed one row upon another. starting from the lower part of the roof and working toward the top. A mat *tapakau* made of the very young leaf of the coconut palm is placed under the thatch at the edge of the roof to catch the leaks. This serves as a rain spout (*tali tulutulu*). The roof is completed with a capping of coconut leaves, which are always used even though the thatching is done with *au*. The leaves are plaited. four usually being sufficient to cap a house.

The sides of most houses are made of coconut leaves or of *kaho* sticks. If coconut leaves are used they are first split and trimmed, then plaited and finally bound with *kafa* to the framework. The

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[1] The notes and vocabularies included in the following pages have been collected by [114] Mr. J. D. Whitcombe, at one time Head of the Mission School at Mua, Tongatabu, but [115] now of Devonport, Auckland, New Zealand. Most of the material has been gathered by Mr. Whitcombe from original sources, but some of it has been translated from manuscripts submitted by native students who were able by word of mouth to get from the old inhabitants first-hand information about the early customs and traditions of the Tongans. The material is presented here in the form of miscellaneous notes with the idea of making available to students of Tongan ethnology information which, though incomplete and scattered, may prove valuable for reference.

[p, 3]

121 that with the passing of one more generation
little of this knowledge will survive in
Polynesia.

It is for this purpose—to record the uses
[101] of plants in folk-medicine—that I went to
Tonga during the months of September
through November, 1969.

The literature on diverse native floras and
the medical uses of each plant is voluminous.
The flora of Tonga, however, has never been
114 surveyed for this specific purpose. Strict
botanical investigation on the islands began
with Banks and Solander, who accompanied
Captain Cook on his first voyage in 1769
(11). There have been numerous other
collectors in the archipelago, and four comprehensive
reports of the flora of Tonga
have since been completed (32, 10, 4, 11).
127 *Plants of Tonga*, by T. G. Yuncker (32),
stands as the basic reference upon which
114 this survey was based. Yuncker's carefully
recorded list of native names was especially
valuable.

The results of several ethnological and
other first-person accounts have been utilized
114 in this paper (7, 17, 15). Although several
interesting anthropological studies are recorded,
information regarding Tongan medical
practices is scarce.

121 Although it would be interesting to decipher
slowly the conceptual structures underlying
the mechanics of medical treatment in
Tonga, I have attempted only to describe
the techniques and practices that are still
employed. It has become a question of
salvaging the knowledge still remaining
before it becomes too late to learn *anything*
about traditional Tongan medicine.

101 The Tonga Archipelago is situated in the
South Pacific Ocean between 15° and 23°
South Latitude and 173° and 177° West
Longitude. The islands are clustered in
three main areas. The northern, central, and
southern groups are known as the Vava'u,
Ha'api, and Tongatapu groups, respectively.
Scattered over 20,000 square miles of ocean,
the land area of the more than 150 islands
[161] is about 269 square miles. Only 36 of these
islands are inhabited, with a total population
of 77,585 individuals (1966 census). More
101 than 48,000 are living in the Tongatapu
162 group. Tongatapu Island is the largest in
this group, with an area of almost 100

101 square miles. Nuku'alofa, with an approximate population of 15,000, is the largest city
162 in Tonga and the capital (14).

II. A Review of Medical Practices in Tonga

175 A fairly detailed description of medical practices in Tonga is found in *William
114 Mariner's Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands* (17, pp. 240–273). This
177 account was related to J. Martin by William Mariner, who was shipwrecked somewhere in the archipelago in the early 1800's. The first Europeans to arrive in Tonga were missionaries sent out by the London Missionary Society in 1797.

757 Martin reports that around the year 1800 few plants were used in treating illness.
[753] Sickness was thought to originate from an outside force, and all remedies used by the Tongan were reasonably categorized by Martin into three groups: invocation, sacrifice, and external operations. When plant remedies were employed, they had no effect either upon the disease or the patient. Martin states that such remedies were held in "little esteem," for when the reigning king's daughter became seriously ill plant medicines were not considered (17).

752 Martin does refer, however, to the uses of three plants. To reduce opthalmic inflam-
278 mations, the juice of the *vi* (*Spondias dulcis*) was used. Following circumcision, the end of the penis was wrapped in the leaf of *gnata'i* (*Erythrina* spp.?). And the ulcerated sores of venereal diseases were treated with powder of turmeric from the fleshy rootstock of *Curcuma longa.*

757 Martin states that "the idea of giving
177 (plant) infusions was first taken from the natives of the Fiji Islands." The Tongan
177 also learned the practice of surgery in Fiji, where constant wars afforded great oppor-
752 tunities for practicing this art. The three most important operations then practiced in Tonga were *cawso*, or paracentesis thoracis (drainage of fluid from the chest cavity); *tocolosi*, or an operation to cure tetanus; and *broca*, or castration.

755 Charms and amulets were not employed in ceremonies for the patient. Sacrifices
[782] were common, and horrors such as *tootoo-*

[p.424-B]

78: Weiner N-4,5 (1969) 1972
OU9 Tonga OU9

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Martin's report on life in Tonga indicates that around the year 1800 few plants were used in treating illnesses (17). There is no reason to doubt his observations. However, the possibility that plants were generally used in medicines before 1800 must not be eliminated on the basis of this single report.
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Evidence from other regions of the Pacific and from ethnographic studies of primitive cultures in general suggests that plants were used in medicines to some extent by most peoples. By attempting to evaluate the relative date of introduction to Tonga of the species enumerated in Section V, perhaps some conclusion as to the origin of plant remedies in Tonga can be determined. For this purpose, I have divided the 71 enumerated medicinal plants into three categories: endemic, indigenous, and of recent introduction. For the purposes of this discussion, "endemic plants" refers to species found only in the archipelago; "indigenous plants" are those found generally throughout Polynesia and of pre-European introduction; and "recently introduced species" are those from tropical America, Africa, Asia, or India that were introduced after Europeans first arrived in Tonga. Table V lists those species which are indigenous to Tonga and which
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are used in medicines. Table VI lists those which are used in medicines and which are considered of recent, or post-European, introduction.

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Of the species listed above, one is endemic, 49 are considered indigenous or of pre-European introduction to Tonga, and only 21 are of post-European introduction. Therefore of the total of 71 species enumerated, 68% are indigenous to Tonga and 30%
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[177]
are recently introduced. As the majority of enumerated medicinal plants are native or of pre-European introduction to Tonga and the use of plants in Tonga is assumed to have flourished after 1800, it is possible to conclude that the Tongan may have learned the many plant remedies enumerated herein from other Pacific islanders and/or from Europeans who learned of certain plant remedies in their travels and entered the archipelago after visiting these other island
[114]
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groups. It is also possible to conclude that Martin's (17) observations were, in fact, incorrect and that medicinal plants were used by Tongans before 1800. Perhaps the Ton-

[p.448-B]

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 Gradually the excitement and the material gain of these expeditions,
as well as the prestige and honour given to them, particularly
484 by the younger generations of Tonga, made these exploits an
[868] integral part of the upbringing of young chiefs. Hence the rapid
[565] increase in the volume of traffic between Tonga and Fiji during
the eighteenth century.

This intercourse had far-reaching effects on political affairs in
175 Tonga. On their return home the young warriors did not hesitate
177 to show off the new habits they had acquired in Fiji. Cannibalism
[266] and strangling of widows were introduced and became more and
[768] more common; 'Warriors who had blooded their clubs in Fiji
fretted at the inglorious routine of peace. Intrigue, treachery,
[721] murder, and rebellion resulted' (Derrick 1963:122-3). When
Captain Cook first visited Tonga in 1773 he reported that, although
175 he saw arms, the people went about unarmed and appeared peaceful.
721 On his third voyage, in 1777, he named Lifuka, the main
114 island of the Ha'apai group, Friendly Island. He was entirely
unaware that on the very same occasion there was a plot to
assassinate him and his crew, and that they were only saved by
a disagreement among their chiefly hosts as to whether to carry
out the plot by day or by night (Martin 1827, II:71-2).

At the turn of the seventeenth century unrest began to appear,
175 particularly in Vava'u. Vuna, a brother of the then Tu'i Kanokupolu,
669 Mataele Ha'amea, went to Vava'u in order to quell the
unrest and to restore allegiance to his brother. He was accompanied
634 by one of his nephews, Tuituiohu, son of Mataele Ha'amea,
who went as Vuna's *le'o kava* (guardian of *kava* protocol), and
by some of the lesser chiefs of the *ha'a* Havea. However, after
staying in Vava'u for a while, Vuna abandoned his original intentions
and decided to extend his own powers, pronouncing himself
Tu'i Vava'u (ruler of Vava'u) and establishing his own court at
Pangaimotu, an island off Vava'u (informant, Her Majesty, the
late Queen Sālote).

Meanwhile, the struggle for power continued on Tongatapu.
175 One of Mataele Ha'amea's sons, Ma'afu'otuitonga, succeeded to
643 the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu. He had three sons, Tupoulahi,
Maealiuaki and Mumui, all of whom succeeded to the position.
However, when Maealiuaki's son, Mulikiha'amea, decided to

ceremony show other aspects that the kava ceremony does not display? 000

Even in the lecture situation in which we find ourselves, it seems to me there is a ceremonial component. There is some dramatization of roles, though it is not nearly so complex as in the kava ceremony. There is not much sense of continuity with the unique past history of British society, but there *does* seem to be symbolic expression of unspoken thoughts. I would gather from your presence and your attentiveness that you are here because of sympathetic interest in the subject, but it would be surprising if interest and curiosity were not accompanied by criticism, doubt, and at least some measure of hostility both towards the subject and towards the speakers. Similarly, the speakers experience a complex mixture of feelings. The conventional arrangements of lectures like these – the raised platform, the physical distance between speaker and audience, the loudspeakers, the chairman, the introductions, the applause, the questions – are partly necessary for purely practical reasons, but they also provide a setting that both expresses contradictory feelings and keeps them under control.

NOTES

1. The paper was originally given in 1967 as one of the Winter Lectures on Psychoanalysis to members of the general public interested in psychoanalysis. It was first published in 1968 (Sutherland, 1968). The Foundations Fund for Research in Psychiatry generously provided me with a fellowship to analyse and write up the material. I am deeply indebted to the many Tongans who helped me to record and understand the ceremony and to the several colleagues with whom I have discussed the interpretations of it, especially Miss Pearl King, Miss Isabel Menzies, Mrs T. T. S. Hayley, and my husband, James Spillius. 114 122 000

If I had been writing for an anthropological audience or specifically to contribute to a festschrift in honour of Dr Audrey Richards, I would doubtless have written the paper somewhat differently. However, since Dr Leach's critique and his own analysis of the myths and the ceremony were initially based on this version of my paper, it seems best to publish it in its original form.

82: Leach E-4 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

The structure of symbolism

EDMUND LEACH

Although I am exclusively responsible for what is said in this paper I wish to express from the start my great indebtedness to Dr Elizabeth Bott who has had the generosity to make many careful and extremely helpful comments on an earlier draft. A number of Dr Bott's observations have been incorporated into this final version without specific acknowledgement. I would also express my thanks to Dr La Fontaine and Dr Tambiah for their helpful critical comments on earlier drafts. 114

A principal theme in Audrey Richards's *Chisungu* (1956) is that in the study of ritual symbolism the various interpretative procedures adopted by different brands of anthropologist and psychologist should be regarded as complementary rather than mutually inconsistent. Elizabeth Bott has recently argued in similar vein. In a paper devoted to the analysis of Tongan kava ceremonial (see pp. 205–37 above) she supplements interpretations of a fairly straightforward functionalist kind (pp. 217–27) with the intuitions of a psychoanalyst, e.g.: 'I think that the chewing or, nowadays, the pounding of the kava is a symbolic repetition of psychic cannibalism, representing a desire both to get possession of the qualities of the beautiful envied brother and son and to destroy him' (p. 229). 121 114

Now I concede that the intuitions of functionalist anthropologists are no more likely to be right (or wrong) than the intuitions of psychoanalysts so that if we accept either style of analysis we should accept the other, but if anthropologists wish 121

[p. 239]

82: Leach E-4 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

121 to be taken seriously as scientists they need to develop methods of analysis that are less dependent upon private hunch, and it is primarily on this account that I feel they should pay close attention to the work of Lévi-Strauss. If structuralism has any advantage over the alternative techniques considered by Richards and Bott it is precisely because it can claim to be, relatively speaking, 'intuition free'.

The basic issue is one of methodology. Are there operations by which we can analyse sequences of myth and ritual and say quite positively that 'the evidence shows that this and this is the case', or must we always fall back on some equivocating personal formula – 'it seems to me that' or 'it is surely obvious that'?

From this point of view the distinctive characteristic of structuralist procedure is that the analyst tries to avoid making symbolic substitutions which are not already quite overtly specified in the evidence. It is this aspect of structuralist analysis that I shall seek to demonstrate in this essay. Unlike some practitioners of the technique I share with Bott the functionalist assumption that myth is a charter for ritual performance and that we can only understand what is being symbolized in the ritual if we take note of what is being 'said' in the mythology. However, unlike Bott, I assume that it is the structural patterns embedded in the mythology rather than the superficial content that conveys the significant message.

114 Here is a preliminary example of what I mean. In one of the
539 myths cited below (Bott II, p. 253), we are told how older
773 brothers of a common father from a foreign land kill and eat their younger Tongan half-brother. In another myth (Gifford V, p. 251), which is in all structural respects the converse of the first, an elder half-brother of a common mother runs away to live in a foreign land from which he returns at the time of his younger Tongan half-brother's death.[1] One way of describing this antithesis is to say that the two stories present a contrast between 'the overemphasis of kinship bonds' (death associated with mutual identification) and 'the underemphasis of kinship

82: Leach E-4 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

bonds' (death associated with mutual separation). This contrast 114
is presented to us by the evidence itself; it does not require 539
'interpretation' by the analyst (cf. Lévi-Strauss, 1963, p. 215). 773
In the course of the essay that follows I shall constantly revert to this contrast, which is expressed in the actual ritual by a marked ambivalence in the relationship between the presiding chief and the presiding matāpule (cf. Bott, pp. 225–6 above).

The distinctiveness of this procedure may be seen if we compare it with that employed by Bott who interprets the mythology by resort to intuition. Thus she claims that the myth (Bott II) mentioned above, represents a symbolic displacement of parental envy or castration symbolism (Bott, p. 230 above). Plainly she is here introducing an element of Freudian dogma which is quite external to the evidence as such.

All the same, we should not too hastily assume that Bott's
conclusions must be false. The skeletal structural analysis that 121
I have proposed above is precisely analogous to one which Lévi-Strauss applied in 1953 to a series of incidents in the classical Theban saga (cf. Lévi-Strauss, 1963, p. 215). In that case the 'overemphasis of kinship bonds' was exemplified by the love of Oedipus for Jocasta and of Antigone for Polynices whereas the 'underemphasis of kinship bonds' was exemplified by the hostility between Oedipus and Laios and between Eteocles and Polynices. Since the Theban saga contains within itself all the basic complexes of the Freudian dogma it is hardly surprising that Bott should have got a whiff of ancient Thebes when contemplating the Tongan drama of 'Aho'eitu! But this, of course, raises the more general question of what is the relation between structuralist 'objective' analysis and psychoanalytic 'intuitive' analysis? The following material is designed to pursue this problem rather further.

I must first draw attention to a difficulty that Bott herself 114
ignores. Her paper is, in the main, an analysis of 'royal' kava 276
ceremonials as performed during the reign of the late Queen 574
Salote. Bott observed such ceremonials and discussed them with

114 the Queen in person. One of the myths that she describes is in a
276 version that comes direct from the Queen. In one sense,
574 therefore, we are discussing ethnographic facts as they existed
[643] around 1960. But Queen Salote was a highly educated woman,
very well versed in the English language accounts of her own
society. This makes me sceptical. Bott says of the kava ceremonial:

> But all this is done according to a fixed ceremonial procedure that has hardly varied for at least 160 years. We have a good description of the ceremony dating from 1806 (Mariner, 1818, Vol. 2, pp. 172–96) and the verbal orders and the actions performed have hardly changed at all. . . . (p. 206).

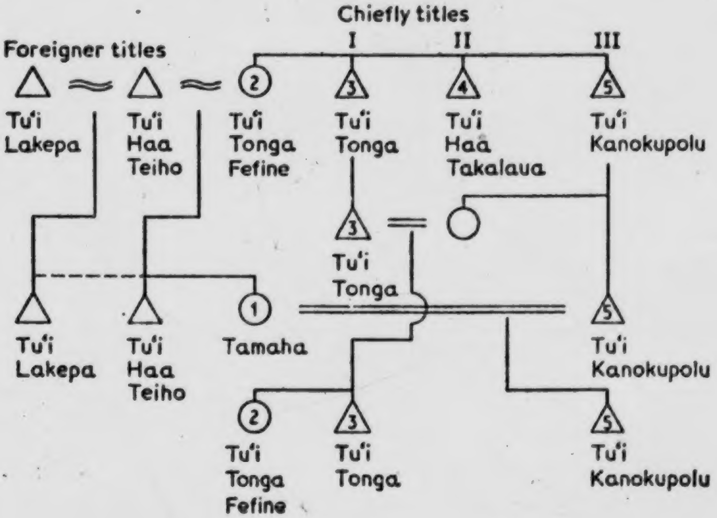
But this continuity is surely hypothetical? The various ethnographic sources, notably Gifford (1929, pp. 156–68) and Williamson (1939, pp. 70–87), provide a step-by-step instruction book on how to run a 'traditional' kava ceremonial, and it is at least possible that the whole business in its present form is quite recent and self-consciously archaic. Moreover, we need to remember that whereas the genuine 'traditional' kava ceremonial was part of an elaborate 'traditional' religious complex, the population of Tonga has been thoroughly Christian for nearly 150 years. Even if the form of the present-day kava ceremonial resembles that described by Mariner, it is hardly possible that it can, in any but a rather superficial sense, possess the same 'meaning'. In such circumstances, is *any* interpretation of the symbolism justifiable?

114 So also in the case of the mythology. Bott's informants had presumably read Gifford (1924) just as she had done herself; does this affect the legitimacy of such materials for the purposes of ethnographic analysis? I don't know. So far as the main body of this paper is concerned I will accept Bott's unstated presupposition that *all* the evidence (whether it comes from Mariner, or Gifford, or Bott, or any other source) belongs to a single 'ethnographic present', but this assumption is suspect. I shall return to this issue at the end.

However I must, even at this point, intrude a special note of 114
ethnographic caution which stems from known facts about the
details of Tongan institutions. Bott's principal informant was [115]
the ruling monarch of Tonga, Queen Salote, son's daughter's
son's daughter of King George I who assumed the powers of a
constitutional monarch of the British type in 1845. In pre- 114
European times there was no such unified office, though the 643
dignitary known as the Tu'i Tonga might reasonably have been described as the 'ritual king'. In the early part of the nineteenth century the most powerful chiefs, in a political sense, were those who held the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu, and King George I was one of these. At this period, before 1845, the titles of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Haa Takalaua were both notionally 'superior' to that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, but King George I obliterated these titles and since his day they have not been employed. However, in 1865, on the death of the last properly entitled Tu'i Tonga, King George I went through a ritual whereby he himself formally assumed the office and prerogatives of the Tu'i Tonga, so that he would seem to have ***absorbed*** the office of Tu'i Tonga rather than to have ***abolished*** it (see Gifford, 1929, pp. 60, 86, 93, 98). Now, since Queen Salote's 'proper' title was that of Tu'i Kanokupolu, it might appear that the 'royal kava' that Bott observed and which is discussed in the following pages was the 'kava of the Tu'i Kanokupolu'. On the other hand the mythology that justifies this ceremony and forms the main subject matter of this paper is plainly appropriate to the 'kava of the Tu'i Tonga' rather than to that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. It may be relevant therefore that Queen Salote could, by a fiction, have claimed the prerogatives of either title. It also seems relevant that, for several generations prior to 1845, the Tu'i Tonga had regularly been married off to the daughter of the Tu'i Kanokupolu and a son of this marriage had regularly succeeded as the next Tu'i Tonga. Thus, at this period, the holder of the Tu'i Tonga title was not only the son of a previous Tu'i Tonga, he was also the daughter's son of a previous Tu'i Kanokupolu (see ***Figure 1***, p. 244)

82: Leach E-4 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

643 644 114 Figure 1 Perpetual succession and affinity of Tongan titles (numerals indicate rank order of titles)



Chiefly titles
I
II
III
Foreigner titles
Tu'i Lakepa
Tu'i Haa Teiho
2
Tu'i Tonga Fefine
3
Tu'i Tonga
4
Tu'i Haa Takalaua
5
Tu'i Kanokupolu
3
Tu'i Tonga
1
Tamaha
5
Tu'i Kanokupolu
Tu'i Lakepa
Tu'i Haa Teiho
2
Tu'i Tonga Fefine
3
Tu'i Tonga
5
Tu'i Kanokupolu

276 574 The essential features of a Tongan kava ceremonial appear to be the following:

The participants seat themselves in a circle in the manner shown by Bott in *Figure 1*, p. 208. The order of seating is precisely determined by the rank of the title held by the individual 554 concerned. (Tongan titles are transmitted patrilineally in 428 accordance with a system of positional succession. For example, 611 certain titles are in younger brother relation to other titles 'but it is the titles that are brothers, not the men' (Bott, p. 211). Kava plants and food (traditionally sugar cane) are presented to the presiding chief and placed in the centre of the circle. The presiding matāpule[2] then gives orders that a kava plant be taken from in front of the presiding chief down to the kava bowl end of the circle where it is—

> split up, cleaned, and then pounded by the kava maker. (Traditionally small bits of the kava root were handed to people in the outer group who chewed it, spat it out neatly on to a leaf, and then handed it back to the kava maker who put it in the bowl.)

539 II it is the divine father who allocates to the half-brothers
773 their respective titles while in Gifford V the half-brothers are of different titular status *because* they have different fathers.

Bott II and Gifford V both lay stress on the same feature of real life social organization, namely that while (a) titles are passed from father to son and not from mother to son and no two individuals can simultaneously hold the same title, nevertheless (b) a quality of personal rank (as distinct from title) is passed from mother to son, so that two sons of the same mother will always share an element of this personal rank even if they are of different titular status (*supra*, pp. 246, 247).

● 114 When Bott wrote her paper she was evidently unable to see
539 any very direct connection between her myth about ʻAhoʻeitu
773 (Bott II) and the story about the murdered leprous girl (Bott I) but she recognized that somehow there ought to be such a connection. Her comment on the ʻAhoʻeitu story (Bott II) is as follows:

> There is a great deal of ambiguity in the myth about who is killing whom. Obviously the half-brothers kill ʻAhoʻeitu, but he is the father's favourite, so they are attacking the father as well. The father himself sends ʻAhoʻeitu to his death . . . And what of the mother far away in Tonga? ʻAhoʻeitu is her only son, so she is being attacked and perhaps destroyed. But it is she who tells ʻAhoʻeitu how to get to heaven in the first place. And what of the link with the kava myth itself in which a daughter is destroyed? Is it a daughter only or also a mother in disguise? (pp. 230–1).

As we have already seen, there is quite independent evidence of a structural kind that 'the daughter is also a mother in disguise'.

539 There is no need to guess about a possible relationship
773 between the two myths. The relationship palpably exists, and an analysis item by item will enable us to see what it is. In both stories 'this world' of ordinary human activity is contrasted with an 'other world' of mythical happenings. In Bott I and the 'other world' is ʻEueiki (*supra*, p. 253); in Bott II it is a Land in the

82: Leach E-4 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

FINAL NOTE ON METHOD

Let me return to my initial thesis. The analysis that I have 121
presented employs a combination of 'structuralist' and 'functionalist' techniques. In so far as I use functionalist assumptions I have operated intensively within a very narrow range of ethnographic data and I have adhered to the Malinowskian dogma that myth and ritual are two aspects of the same thing. But I have combined this orthodoxy with many features of structuralist procedure and I believe that the outcome is to be preferred to either a functionalist or a psychoanalytical interpretation of the more usual sort because it depends much less on intuition. Even so my argument might be criticized as superficial. Even if Bott were to agree that the mystical identity 121
between the kava on the one hand and the potency of the Tu‘i 114
Tonga Fefine on the other has now been established (as I think perhaps she does), she might still argue that the concatenation, in such a context, of themes of cannibalism and incest is too suggestive to be ignored and that, at this 'deeper' level, the Freudian approach adds insights that neither functionalism nor structuralism can provide. On this issue I am not fully persuaded one way or the other. Certainly the convergence between Bott's Freudian approach and my own structural analysis seems very striking. But it was Audrey Richards's *Chisungu* that first convinced me that these matters are far more multivalent than I had once supposed, so it is to Audrey that I now offer this essay in uncertain analysis.

NOTES

1. In terms of our value system it might further appear that the 114
younger half-brother is in each case 'illegitimate', but Dr Bott assures 539
me that this would not be the case according to Tongan idiom. 773

2. 'The basic meaning of the term mātāpule seems to be sister's 276
husband (M.S.)' (Gifford, 1929, p. 29). Hence it is a term of 574
respect. As a *title*, it denotes the ceremonial attendant of a chief. 565
Titles are hereditary in the male line and in most cases the patrilineages that own matāpule titles are of 'foreign' origin, e.g. they are supposed to have come from Fiji or Samoa.

83: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

A rejoinder to Edmund Leach

ELIZABETH BOTT

I find myself captivated by the intellectual elegance of Dr Leach's analysis. I accept as plausible the series of symbolic links establishing the mystical identity between kava on the one hand and descent from women on the other, and, with a little misgiving, descent from the Tu'i Tonga Fefine in particular. The symbolic linking of Kava (the leprous girl of 'Eueiki) with Nua (the beautiful spirit girl of 'Eueiki) seems indisputable, and the two Nua are the Tu'i Tonga's daughter, his mother, and his wife. (Nua 1 is the daughter of Lo'au who is equated/confused with the Tu'i Tonga. Nua 1 is also the wife of Tu'i Tonga Momo and the mother of Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui. Nua 2, the spirit girl of 'Eueiki, marries Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui.) Kava is equivalent to the Tu'i Tonga's sister only through an indirect link: Kava = Nua = Tu'i Tonga's wife = Latūtama, the sister of Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui. Assuming that Nua 1 is the mother of Latūtama as well as the mother of Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui, which the myth does not explicitly state, the link between kava and the sister of the Tu'i Tonga is more direct, for then Kava = Nua = mother of Latūtama.

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All this fills in much more adequately what Leach rightly calls my 'wild guessing' about the links between the 'Aho'eitu myth and the kava myth. And from it follows the conclusion [574] that whereas the seating of the ceremony expresses the fixed and theoretically unchanging relationships of *titles* to one another, the making and drinking of kava reaffirms the aristo-

[p.277]

114 cratic status of the titleholders and their mystical assimilation
276 to their divine ancestress, the Tu‘i Tonga Fefine.

773 Of the many equivalences that can be established, it seems
539 to me plausible that the kava itself embodies not only the
[574] divine ancestress, the Tu‘i Tonga's sister, but also the Tu‘i Tonga. Kava and sugar cane grow out of the earth-buried body of the murdered leper girl. But ‘Aho‘eitu grows out of the body of an earth-woman, and is then chewed, spat out and mixed with water as if he himself were kava. Out of this grows the Tu‘i Tonga, so that when the kava is ritually consumed, what is being assimilated is not only the leper girl/Nua/daughter/mother/wife/sister of the Tu‘i Tonga, but also the Tu‘i Tonga himself. Thus the kava making and drinking would express the mystical union of man and woman, the derivation of man from woman and woman from man, and the insoluble puzzle of the first ancestor.

114 There is a detail that neither Leach's analysis nor mine
276 fully explains. In the kava ceremony of the Tu‘i Kanokupolu
574 and Ha‘a Ngata, which was the type observed by Mariner,
539 Gifford, and my husband and me, the sugar cane (or pork) is
773 distributed to the kava drinkers, but they do not eat it. The kava drinkers summon their ‘grandchildren of high rank' (*mokapuna ‘eiki*) to take it away. According to the kava myth both the sugar cane and the kava plant grew out of the body of the murdered leper girl, but the sugar cane grew out of a lower part of the body. I agree with Leach that the ritual and mythological oppositions establish sugar cane as secular/food/non-poisonous/beautiful/son/male/of lower rank – many of these being attributes concerning titles and the relationships of political authority and obligations that titles involve. Further, the Tongan word for the food presented to the kava drinkers is *fono*, which is a homonym for a political meeting at which a chief gives orders to his people. It looks as if there is a paradoxical difference between the female substance (kava) and the male substance (fono) that grow out of the leper girl/beautiful boy. The female substance is of higher rank than the

83: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

male substance but can be consumed. The male substance is of 114
lower rank but can only be consumed by those of higher rank 276
than the kava drinkers. The male substance is thus simul- 574 539
taneously 'lower' and 'higher', just as brothers are simulta- 773
neously lower and higher than their sisters – lower in rank but greater in political power.

On one occasion I observed a kava ceremony of the 'King of the Second House' (Tu'i Fale Ua or Tu'i Pelehake), to which title the last Tu'i Tonga is said to have bequeathed his kava rites. In this ceremony the chief ate his *fono*. So did the Falefā, the titles of the four mythical half-brothers of 'Aho'eitu, and so did certain other 'foreign' matāpule who are said to have been specifically exempted from the *tapu* of eating in the presence of the Tu'i Tonga. Unfortunately I did not discover whether the King of the Second House ate his *fono* in his capacity as Tu'i Tonga or in his capacity as King of the Second House. Cook is the only authority I have found who gives a description of the Tu'i Tonga's kava ceremony, and he does not include this detail. The present-day eating of the *fono* in the kava ceremony of the 'King of the Second House' may therefore mean either a ritual repetition of the original eating up of 'Aho'eitu, or, more probably, a symbolic statement to the effect that only titles that are either (a) the embodiment of the Tu'i Tonga or (b) ritual outsiders can assimilate themselves directly to the male principle of the Tu'i Tonga/Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

What of Leach's claim that structuralist analysis is 'intui- 114
tion free'? In the sense that the analysis uses as data only 121
texts, ceremonies, and abstractions of organizational principles, it is relatively free from contamination either by the observer's or the informants' imputations of meaning and feeling to behaviour. Fieldwork becomes unnecessary, except that one must have a little contact with informants in order to collect texts, observe the ceremonies, and abstract the organizational principles. The analysis requires familiarity with and acceptance of the condensations, displacements, representation by

83: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

114 121 reversal, and the symbolic equivalences peculiar to the logic of what Freud called the primary process, but such familiarity is now so general among western intellectuals that acceptance of primary process thinking can hardly be said to require intuition. The ability to analyse it is another matter, and clearly Dr Leach has a considerable gift for such analysis.

But can one disprove or prove a structuralist interpretation more readily than a psychoanalytic or functionalist one? I doubt it. So many equivalences can be established that one can arrive at a considerable range of possible interpretations-and the choice of one rather than another depends on 'feel' as well as logic.

I find structuralist analysis exciting because it shows how an understanding of primary process thinking can be applied to the cultural products of many societies, and because it indicates the universality of a small number of logical problems: How did man begin? How are the two sexes related to each other? What does death mean? and so on.

I find myself dissatisfied with the approach on two counts. (1) It places exclusive emphasis on the logical/cognitive aspect of the basic human dilemmas, evidently regarding their emotional aspects as irrelevant or uninteresting. (2) The logic is insufficiently linked with social behaviour. It is like a purely formal analysis of dreams, revealing their peculiar logic and a few of the universal intellectual problems with which they deal' but showing little of the specific anxieties and defences that an understanding of each dream can elucidate. 'The interpretation of dreams is the royal road to a knowledge of the unconscious activities of the mind,' Freud said in the early days of psycho, analysis, but he did not regard the analysis of them as an end in itself, which structuralist anthropologists seem to be in danger of doing. But, even with this danger, it is refreshing to have some emphasis on universals again after two generations of functionalist particularism.

I think there is a marked similarity in the methods used in applying the concepts of all three frames of reference – func-

83: Bott E,P-1,5 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

tionalist, structuralist, and psychoanalytic. All three have been developed in an attempt to interpret facts in certain situations and all three have then been used to illuminate facts in other situations, usually with some modification of the frame of reference in the process. I object to Leach's statement that psychoanalytic concepts are 'dogma', meaning that they have no relation to observed facts. They have been developed to explain observed facts, and the development has led to a much more complete understanding of cognitive, perceptual, and emotional processes in human beings than existed beforehand. I do not think this considerable body of constructs needs to be re-established every time a new bit of data is looked at any more than I would expect Leach or Lévi-Strauss to re-examine for each new social context the notion, for example, that 'the other world' is a place where everything stands on its head. 114 121

The content of the three frames of reference is of course different. The functionalist frame of reference purports to be entirely social, though it makes certain 'crude' and sometimes implicit assumptions about human nature. The structuralist frame of reference makes certain assertions about human cognitive processes. The psychoanalytic frame of reference makes a very similar set of assertions about certain types of cognitive process, but sets them in a wider interpretive framework. Leach does not distinguish between primary and secondary process thinking, a differentiation that becomes important when one tries to link analysis of cognitive aspects of behaviour with analysis of its perceptual and emotional aspects. Nor, of course, does the structuralist frame of analysis lead one to concepts of anxiety, defence, or to the reasons for keeping certain ideas, both individual and cultural, in a partially understood form. I think it is the extreme intellectualism of structuralism that is so limiting, but, paradoxically, it is also the main source of its appeal.

It is very difficult to frame hypotheses from any of the three conceptual systems in a form that can be proved or disproved. Acceptance or rejection rests on whether or not the hypotheses

83: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

114 121 illuminate the facts, which in turn depends on many factors, including the preferences and prejudices of the reader. My own preferences and prejudices lead me to accept Leach's structuralist interpretations of the kava ceremony and myths, for they link and illuminate facts that were not as adequately linked before. I find his interpretations elegant, though restricted. But I also find plausible my own interpretation that the kava ceremony and myths are statements about emotional and social as well as logical/cognitive problems.

121 Thus, even though my original paper was not written with Audrey Richards's work in mind, her writings and my personal contact with her have obviously influenced my thinking. In particular, I find myself in agreement with her stress on the importance of the problem one is studying instead of adherence to the somewhat arbitrary demarcations of disciplines that now form the traditional definitions of university departments. This is not to condone confusion of level of conceptual analysis, though it suggests the wisdom of keeping an open mind on whether the current fashion in defining levels of analysis is the most useful. Like Audrey Richards, I am wary of single explanations of ritual behaviour, however elegant. As she says in concluding her analysis of *chisungu*, the girls' initiation rite among the Bemba (1956, p. 169), 'Single explanations of ritual behaviour, however satisfying to the observer, seem to me to deny the nature of symbolism itself and its use in human society to express the accepted and approved as well as the hidden and denied, the rules of society and the occasional revolt against them, the common interests of the community and the conflicting interests of different parts of it.' This later addition to the dialogue between myself and Dr Leach is given here in recognition of this agreement and in tribute to her work.

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state, church, and education. As a surviving, highly visible sector of legally 565
supported hereditary privilege, offering exclusive access to sources of wealth, 178
influence, and power within the Tongan new order, the nobles are increasingly 565
criticized by Tongans and outside observers as a source of injustice in a society 178
that was created on the themes of emancipation and individual liberty. The 178
tempo of such criticisms has increased significantly since the succession in 829
1965 of Tupou IV, who is committed to modernization and closer relations 185
with other regional and world governments.

Although viewed stereotypically by some as an anachronistic and 565
conservative segment of society, the nobility in terms of the composition and
activities of its membership cannot be fairly characterized so one-dimensionally.
As social historians have shown for old elites in the transformations of European [171]
societies (see Moore, 1967; Stone, 1965), the composition of Tonga's hereditary
nobility, although fixed and rigid in principle, has been characterized by a
degree in fluidity. Further, its response to generally modernizing and liberating
changes has in fact revealed some degree of flexibility and accommodation.

Issues raised in the public litigation of noble succession, a matter determined 565
by law and the Tongan Land Court, offer a perspective on the nature of the 428
social composition of the nobility and also on the significance of the noble
title system as a determinant of social status in modern Tonga. The purpose 121
of this paper is to present a detailed account of noble succession disputes and
to discuss what these disputes indicate concerning the position of the nobility
in modern Tongan society. I have described the modern social contexts and 114
activities of the nobility elsewhere (Marcus, 1975b).

Trends of Change in Tongan Society

The Kingdom of Tonga consists of an archipelago of 150 islands with a 131
total area of 269 square miles. These islands are just west of the International
Dateline, about 430 miles southeast of Suva, Fiji, a similar distance southwest
of Western Samoa, and about 1,200 miles northeast of Auckland, New Zealand.

Only about 36 islands of the archipelago are inhabited, and these are 361
clustered in three main groups: the southern or the Tongatapu group, including
the single largest island of the Kingdom, Tongatapu, on which the port capital
of Nuku'alofa is located; the middle or Ha'apai group of widely scattered small
islands; and the northern or Vava'u group of islands. The rapidly increasing 161
population has been estimated to have reached 100,000. In recent years, land
shortage and rising aspirations, resulting from increased contacts with the outside, 178
have been accompanied by marked increases both in internal migration from 166
the outer islands to Tongatapu and in temporary and permanent migration 167
abroad to countries such as New Zealand and the United States. The Tongan
economy is predominantly agricultural, based on mixed-crop production by 433
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423 and modified the directions of change in patterns of land-holding and
[178 consequently in social structure. As such, the land at the very least has
[554 served as the ideological basis of male social status and respectability in the
[641] new order and as the social foundation for the broader definition of individual
rights in the Tongan Constitution.

565 Impressions of Europeans concerning contemporary Tongan society in-
evitably focus on the noble-commoner division as defining the major lines
565 of class in the monarchy. Undoubtedly, the decision to preserve a limited
number of major traditional chiefs in the form of western-styled noble landlords
177 in the nineteenth century was partially motivated by a need to conform to
648 European views of what the basis of a modern constitutional monarchy should
be, since it appears that the independence of Tonga at the time was dependent
on a self-transformation which courted Western views of 'civilized' institutions.
565 However, Tongans themselves have never entirely accustomed themselves to
the view that the *kau nopele* ('the noble title-holders') alone encompass the
hou'eiki (broadly, chiefs and aristocrats) of modern Tonga. The modern
nobility is not isomorphic with the blood aristocrats of Tonga. In fact, several
of the nobles, although formally recognized or equated as *hou'eiki* by law,
are not considered aristocrats by Tongans in general or by the residents of the
estates of these nobles in particular. The use of the concept *'eiki,* the
traditional 'cover' term denoting chiefly status, has been widely expanded in
modern Tonga to apply to a great number of contexts beyond its traditional
meanings (for example, ministerial posts, some held by commoners, are
referred to as *'eiki minisitā*).

[114] Elizabeth Spillius, in her excellent intensive work at the court of the
late Queen Sālote (1960), defined the traditional principles of Tongan *'eiki*
565 classification. In pre-contact times, the concept of *sino'i 'eiki* (literally, 'chiefly
body') meant broadly 'aristocrat by blood' and had both loose and restricted
175 meanings. The *'eiki* were strictly the Tu'i Tonga and his major wife and
643 children, while loosely the term applied to all people who could trace a fairly
close blood connection with the Tu'i Tonga. Furthermore, aside from this
565 loose and restricted meaning of *'eiki,* which definitely classed certain individuals
175 at the apex of society as either *'eiki* or not, the term had completely contextual
554 application where a man might be called *'eiki* in his own village, but when
he was in the presence of outsiders of higher rank he might be referred to
by a demeaning term such as *motu'a* ('old one'). The English word chief
565 connotes authority over territory and a group of subjects, but there is no
175 exact Tongan linguistic equivalent. There were chiefs without title and without
'eiki blood, and they would be referred to, depending on occasion, as *tauhi
fonua* ('keepers of the land') or *ivilahi* ('men of personal skill and power').
Some chiefs held titles and some not, some were blood *'eiki* (*sino'i 'eiki*) and
565 some not. With the establishment of the nobility, *'eiki* status in a legal or
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88: Thaman K-5 (1967-1973) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

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114

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000 Finally, none of the above are responsible for any shortcomings in this work. I am alone responsible for the work which follows and for any inaccuracies which may be present.

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241 acres (3.3 hectares) in size. The 'api kolo are somewhat
423 fewer in number and average about one-quarter acre (0.1
hectares) in size.

Methodology

101 The majority of the data utilized in this study were
collected on Tongatapu from January 1971 to January 1972.
[114] Preparatory work was carried out during 1968 and 1969 while
the author served as a United States Peace Corps Volunteer
in Tonga. Some additional data were collected in February
1973.

12 The methodology used in acquiring the necessary data included: 1) a literature survey; 2) interviews; 3) a detailed study of the land tenure system; 4) research carried out in government departments; 5) a study of the market-place; 6) the use of aerial photography; 7) detailed ground reconnaissance survey; 8) the administration of a questionnaire; and 9) the collection and identification of herbarium specimens.

127 The literature survey was conducted in California
and Tonga and at the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu
124 and the Western Pacific Archives in Suva, Fiji. People
interviewed included His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV,
members of government boards and departments, farmers, and
other people knowledgeable on various aspects of Tongan
agriculture and botany.

127 The land tenure system was studied using land
registers and survey maps with the help of the staff of
121 the Land and Survey Department, Nuku'alofa. The aim was
to gather precise data on the total number and area of
the different types of land holdings, which could in turn
be used as a sampling frame for statistical surveys.

127 Statistical data on the export of copra, bananas, and
other produce were gathered from records available at the
121 Tonga Copra and Tonga Produce Boards. These data were
439 important to the study because a large percentage of the
produce exported through these Boards originates from the
small landholders' bush allotments.

125 A year-long study of Talamahu Market in the capital
443 city of Nuku'alofa was carried out. Talamahu Market is
the only permanent market place in the Kingdom which serves
125 as an outlet for local produce. Throughout 1971 and the
beginning of 1972, the market was visited at least once a
week to determine the seasonality and types and quantities
of produce that were available.

125 On Saturday, January 22, 1972 from 6:00 A.M. to
114 10:00 P.M., seven senior high school students helped make
a complete inventory of the amount, origin, destination,
and means of transportation of all available commodities
for a single day.

127 Black-and-white aerial photography (at a scale of
128 1:20,000), flown in August 1968 for the British Directorate

125 survey, one out of every ten occupied town allotments was sampled. However, this sample size was later reduced to one out of fifteen. The total number of town allotments sampled was 172. For each of these, an inventory of 241 different types of information on the nature of the dooryard gardens and other agricultural phenomena was carried [126] out. The data for each town allotment were recorded on standardized data sheets (Appendix B).[A]

In addition, a detailed questionnaire was used to gather data concerning Tongan views of the agricultural system (Appendix C).[B] The questionnaire was administered to 150 households in 9 settlements in four districts: Nuku'alofa, Vahe Hahake (Eastern District), Vahe Loto (Central District), and Vahe Hihifo (Western District) (Figure 4). A proportion of the sample was allotted to each district on the basis of estimated 1972 population. Within each district a stratified sample of villages was selected on the basis of size and geographical location: Kolomotu'a, Kolofo'ou, and Ma'ufanga in the Nuku'alofa District; Kolovai in the Hihifo District; Ha'ateiho and Houma in the Vaheloto District; and Haveluliku, Fatumu, and Kolonga in the Hahake District. (See Figure 3: "Major Towns and Villages of Tougatapu"). From complete lists of households for each village, individual households were [114] selected using a random numbers table (Table 1). A group of eight senior high school students were trained to help

[A] [See Category 125, pp. 359-360—Analyst.]

[B] [See Category 125, pp. 361-374—Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

125 **administer the questionnaire.**

[114] **Table 1. Number of questionnaires administered to representative village in each district.**

District	Village	No. of Questionnaires
Nuku'alofa	Kolomotu'a	23
	Kolofo'ou	13
	Ma'ufanga	8
Hihifo	Kolovai	18
Vaheloto	Ha'ateiho	22
	Houma	21
Hahake	Haveluliku	7
	Fatumu	17
	Kolonga	21
TOTAL		150

126 [124] **Throughout the year, plant specimens were collected from cultivated and natural vegetation. Folk names were obtained from Tongan informants, especially at the Talamahu Market where a consensus of opinion on the "correct" Tongan name could be reached.** 126 128 **These identifications in Tongan were then cross-referenced in Yuncker's Plants of Tonga (1959) for tentative scientific names. Research was also carried out in the Agriculture Department's Herbarium, which contains specimens collected by H. Huërlimann (1951), T.G. Yuncker (1953), and E. Lawrence (1959). Fresh specimens collected in the field were compared with this collection to verify their identity. In addition, 193 herbarium specimens were collected and posted to California where**

241 establish itself. Unfortunately, on Tongatapu, owing to
137 the limited land area, only in rare cases has the vegetation
311 been allowed to return to a near climax community,
and little of the original primary vegetation remains
except along the coast and in a few protected enclaves.
137 Even in these areas, the vegetation has probably been
altered to some extent by over 3000 years of Tongan
occupance (Groube, 1971: 313).

114 A number of comprehensive studies of the Tongan flora
128 have been made (Hemsley, 1894; Burkill, 1901; and Yuncker,
1959); these studies however, have focused on the identification
and listing of species and their uses and not
on plant communities and their areal distribution, which
is the focus of the following vegetational description.
The vegetation is here classified into eleven types
128 (Figure 8). These include primary vegetation types:
1) coastal littoral forest; 2) coastal savanna; 3) swamp
forest; 4) marshland; 5) mangrove swamps; 6) tropical
lowland forest; and secondary vegetation which is treated
separately. These types are based on physiognomic differences
that were observable on the ground and on 1: 20,000
black-and-white aerial photography. Each of these types
was studied on the ground and subsequently mapped utilizing
137 1968 aerial photography. These associations are not
241 all directly involved in the agricultural system, but
311 they do reflect the agricultural potential of the different

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 39]

423 Minister, into 56 4 1/8 acre (1.7 hectares) allotments; and 11 other 4 acre (1.6 hectares) allotments resulting from subdivision of expired leasehold land southeast of Utulau.

423 361 Town allotments, which are supposed to be 2/5 acre (0.2 hectares) in size, are located in the 59 town reserves throughout Tongatapu (Figure 3).^A Each of these town reserves is subdivided into numerous town allotments or [128] '_api kolo_. Figures 10 and 11 are examples of the subdivision of the town reserves of Houma and Kolonga into [127] individual town allotments ('_api kolo_). There is very little information regarding the exact number and acreage of town allotments on Tongatapu. Nevertheless, based on figures in the _Report of the Lands and Survey Department_ (Government of Tonga, 1971a:Appendix I), there are probably [114] [162] between 4,000 and 5,000 town allotments. Hardaker (1971:25) quotes a figure of over 13,000 town allotments for Tongatapu, but this seems unlikely considering that the total number of households on Tongatapu, at the 1966 census, was only just over 6,000. Most allotments are probably close to the statutory size although there are many oversized and undersized allotments.

423 311 The portions of hereditary estates which have been reserved for the holders and their families comprise about 3,100 acres (1,255 hectares). These parcels are generally used for food or commercial crops. In some cases, the land has been put into plantations for the production of copra

A[See Category 361, p. 14--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

PREFACE

The Methodist Church has been at work in Australia since 1815 and it sent 797
its first missionary to the Pacific Islands in 1822. It is now looking forward to
union with other Churches in Australia. Before its denominational identity ceases 121
it seems desirable to compile a history of Methodist Overseas Missions during the
past 150 years.

To write such a complete history is an audacious venture, and an ageing minister must have misgivings about the attempt. This volume deals with Tonga and Samoa. If a second volume can follow, it will take Fiji, Rotuma, and the Indian work in Fiji as the subject. It is expected that four volumes will be needed for the whole history.

Until 1855 the work of Wesleyan Missions in the Pacific was directed from 797
London. In that year Australasian Wesleyan Methodism became self-governing and solely responsible for the work in the Pacific. In 1902 the union of the various branches of Methodism produced the Methodist Church of Australasia. In the interests of simplicity "Australia" is generally used in this history instead of the ecclesiastically correct "Australasia".

New Zealand Methodism separated from Australia in 1913. I have not 000
encroached on the history of missionary work among the Maoris in New Zealand because a history in this section has been published by the Methodist Church in that country. I acknowledge some overlapping in recording the history of the Solomon Islands Mission, which was established from Australia in 1902 and came under the control of the Methodist Church in New Zealand in 1922.

I have given prominence to Tonga, largely because I served there from 1924 797
to 1937 and have kept in touch with Tonga ever since. Also, Tonga merits close [114]
attention as the first Wesleyan field and one where events of importance for missionary study took place; if we seek lessons about motives, methods, and mistakes, Tonga provides these.

As far as a Methodist minister and a former missionary can do so, I have 121
written objectively in this history. Not only successes but what seemed to me errors in policy and failures needed to be recorded, and I have endeavoured to be accurate and impartial. I have relied mainly on missionaries' journals and correspondence.

It was hoped that this history would have been published in 1972, to mark 114
the 150th anniversary of Walter Lawry's landing in Tonga, but it appears before 797
1976, the year commemorating the arrival of the veteran, John Thomas.

I acknowledge, first, my sense of privilege in studying, and in attempting to 000
narrate, the deeds of many noble men and women who have laboured in Overseas Missions in the past 150 years. I have been indebted to those whose assistance with material and advice I acknowledge, and I apologize for inadvertent omissions from a list which includes His Majesty King Taufa'ahau IV; the Premier, Prince Tu'ipelehake; Dr. W. Niel Gunson, Department of Pacific History, Australian National University, Canberra; Dr. Sione Latukefu, Department of History, University of Papua and New Guinea; Dr. Noel Rutherford, Department of

Chapter VIII.

THE 1835-40 CIVIL WARS — OR WARS OF RELIGION?

The intermittent wars in Tongatapu from 1835 to 1840 brought criticisms 797
against the missionaries and Taufa'ahau. There were tragic events during these 669
years, and some of the criticisms had justification while others were wild and unfounded.

Some writers, both contemporary and later, over-simplified the position in 797
regarding the causes of the conflict as either only political or only religious. Basil 669
Thomson (in 1893) gave a one-sided view of the 1835-40 struggle: 114

> "It was a missionary war — a crusade in which the club and the Bible were linked against the powers of darkness." [1] A

Latukefu dismisses Thomson's allegation as an over-simplification and emphasizes that the wars throughout the years were a continuation of the rebellion that had commenced forty years before, the civil war in which the Ha'a Havea chiefs of Tongatapu opposed one Tu'i Kanokupolu after another.(2) As rebels against lawful authority they also opposed the religion which the king had accepted (after 1829); they believed that Christianity would threaten their customs and erode their chiefly power.

The most violent attack upon both missionaries and Taufa'ahau came from Chevalier Dillon in 1838. He denounced John Thomas for inciting Taufa'ahau "by whose means and bloody assistance you undertook to propagate the mild doctrines of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ".(3)

Commodore Wilkes, leader of the U.S. Exploring Expedition in 1840, blamed the missionaries for regarding the war as an opportunity for converting the heathen.(4)

Against this there was the opinion of Captain Erskine, H.M.S. *Havannah*, in 1849, when there was still open opposition to the king's authority. He declared,

> "The objections of the strong heathen party in Tongatapu to join the rest of their countrymen arise more from a political than a religious feeling." (5)

Throughout these years Tongatapu was still largely both non-Christian and 797
in rebellion against Aleamotu'a Tupou, the Tu'i Kanokupolu. His authority was 669
only nominal, except in the Christian districts. Each outbreak of fighting began 643
with the rebels. When Aleamotu'a was attacked he sent for help from George [184]
Taufa'ahau in the north.

The missionaries hoped that there would be no war but, when it broke out, they looked upon it as a struggle between light and darkness, with Taufa'ahau championing the cause of "Jehovah of Hosts" and the "deluded" rebels serving the cause of the devil. Thomas could not have foreseen the tragedies that would occur at the sacking of the forts at Ngele'ia and Hule in January 1837, but he sometimes made unfortunate use of the Old Testament narratives of Israel's wars against idolatrous neighbouring nations; and these must have had an effect upon

A /see 14: Thomson, this file -- Analyst/

175

unrelated chiefs such as Finau but derives ceremonial status by being related to the 634 244
Tu'i Tonga through his sister.

As a final example of the complexities of Tonga's interlocking ranking systems 571
let us look at an engraving made from an illustration by Hodges on Cook's second 175
voyage of 'The Landing at Middleburgh' (plate 1*a*).A We are at first a bit over- 114
whelmed by the Greek-looking Tongans in flowing garments and European
visage—reflecting certainly the European vision of the noble savage in his peaceful
Utopia. Bernard Smith in his excellent discussion of this engraving (1960: 52–3)
points out that it was probably Cipriani who did the figures in a Hodges landscape.[6]
George Forster criticises the picture thus: 'But it is also greatly to be feared, that
Mr Hodges has lost the sketches and drawings which he made from Nature in the
course of the voyage, and supplied the deficiency in this case, from his own
elegant ideas' (Forster 1777: I, 427).

These critics, however, seem to miss the ethnological importance of this picture, 175
for here we have the first (and only) depicted example of finger sacrifice. If we look 304
closely (plate 1*b*),A we see that several of the individuals have parts of their little 782
fingers missing—the Tongan practice of *to'o nima*.[7] In their accounts, the Forsters
and Cook miss the real significance of the practice. Reinold Forster writes that the 114
'greater part of the same nation want the two first joints of one, and sometimes [765]
both the little fingers, which they cut off as marks of their grief, for deceased
parents or relations' (1778: 269). Cook more cautiously tells us: 'we could not
learn the cause of this mutilation with any degree of certainty, but judged it to be
on account of the death of their parents' (Beaglehole 1961: 268). Anderson on the 175
third voyage gets it almost correct—'for when they suspect themselves in danger 114
from sickness they cut off their little finger as a propitiation to the Deity,' and that it 782
'is sometimes done on the illness of their chief as well as themselves' (Beaglehole
1967: 947). From later accounts, however (e.g. Martin 1818 and Gifford 1929), it is 304
quite clear that the practice was a sacrifice within the *kāinga* by one of lower rank 755
to cure a sickness of one of higher rank. The lowest ranking, to follow our *kāinga* [612]
ranking principles, is the mother's brother or mother's brother's children, or some- [604]
one of the same kinship category. It is said that there were often arguments over
who would have the honour to give the sacrifice. This sacrifice was done within
the family and taken to the priest of the sick person's god. A place name in Tungua
Island in the Ha'apai group is known as Tangi to'o nima, i.e., crying at finger [103]
sacrifice, and is traditionally the place where this took place on behalf of the
Tamaha.

Individuals in the group who were eligible to give finger sacrifices are also in the 602
group who cannot eat in the presence of individuals of the higher category. This
group also has specific functions at funerals—where they are known as *liongi*.
Whole societal lines stand in this kind of relationship to other lines. For example,
Tu'i Lakepa's line stands as 'father' to the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's line, and all individuals
of Tu'i Ha'ateiho's line must treat those of Tu'i Lakepa's line as one would treat a
'father'. Further, the Tu'i Tonga's line must treat both Tu'i Lakepa and Tu'i
Ha'ateiho as one would treat a sister's child, because the Tamaha came from these
lines (i.e., Fale Fisi). This situation is especially intense at the chiefly level. Cook was 175
disappointed at the mourning ceremony he attended but his description is invaluable. 765
His account would seem to indicate that the ceremony was not for the king's son, 554
612

A. [See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analyst]

and a companion in the same museum are the only examples of fly whisks made in 293
this manner. The handles are completely incised in zigzag patterns and inset with 127
ivory pieces in the form of men, birds, stars, and crescents (Moschner 1955: 222, 643
224). The carving and ivory inlay are done in the same manner as the incising of [531]
Tongan clubs, but handles of Tongan fly whisks are usually uncarved. Since fly [532]
whisks are only used by chiefs in Tonga, one would suspect that such an elaborate
one would have been the possession of a special chief. The existence of the information in the Leverian sale catalogue—that it belonged to Paulaho—was the corroborating evidence we needed.

A specimen in the Pitt Rivers Museum illustrates the usual early type of fly 293
whisk (plate 4*a*)A. It is made with a slightly tapered, polished wood handle and a whisk 127
of coconut fibre, bound by a wrapping of twisted *'olongā* fibre. It is 53 cm. in length
and a small section of the whisk is braided. An almost identical piece exists in the
Forster collection in Göttingen, and there are two similar ones in the British
Museum. The Pitt Rivers example is a good type specimen. It is the usual Tongan
type in early collections, its provenance is given as Tonga in Forster's list, such
whisks still exist in Tonga, and an engraving in Labillardière (1802: plate 33) is [114]
virtually identical. Another whisk of this type, but with a bone handle, exists in
Bern in the Webber collection from the third voyage, but its provenance is given as
Tahiti. It is certainly Tongan, and can now be separated from the Tahitian materials.

The fly whisk, *fue kafa*, was an important symbol of rank in Tonga. It was mani- 293
pulated in a specific manner, called *fuefue*, which took practice and deftness of 559
hand. A Tongan proverb puts it nicely: 'Who is this fellow who wields his *fue* [538]
like a commoner?' This proverb is used today for anyone who is presumptuous
beyond his status. The *fue* is a good example of the reflection of social stratification
in material culture. The Tu'i Tonga was chief of the chiefs. The *fue*, a visual status [643]
symbol that could be used by all chiefs, was differentiated when used by the Tu'i [565]
Tonga in a manner befitting his high rank.

Incising of the designs in wood was done by means of a shark-tooth implement 412
represented in the Pitt Rivers Museum by Forster specimen Number 174, 'shark's 127
tooth set in wood, from the Friendly Isles' (plate 4*b*A(i)). Before Forster's Cata- [237]
logue was found in 1969, this specimen was noted '?Tahiti.' This provenance may
have been derived from comparing it with a similar specimen in the British
Museum that is in the TAH series, but one must remember that the TAH series
reflects the views of a nineteenth century cataloguer and that, for the most part,
the Tongan items were not separated from the Tahitian. Also in reference to this
erroneous British Museum provenance, Duff in his recent catalogue ascribed a [114]
similar tool in the Canterbury Museum, New Zealand, to Tahiti (Duff 1969: 26).
But I think there can be little doubt that this tool type is Tongan.

We are indebted on this account to Forster for two reasons. Not only does he 412
state clearly that this tool is from Tonga but he also gave its companion tool (plate 175
4*b* (ii)), a nail set in a handle of bone. This specimen (Forster 101a) he lists as 'An old [177]
nail, brought to the friendly Isles by Tasman in 1643 and preserved by the Natives,
& used as a gouge or borer'. Thus, though one might question his attribution
of the shark-tooth tool to Tonga, one could hardly question the nail attribution.
And this is crucial, for the hafting is virtually identical. Reinold Forster describes
this piece, or a similar one, in his *Observations:* '... when we landed at Tonga-tabu [439]

A. [See End Plate 4, following p. 220--Analyst] social interaction among Tongans in this early period has been very useful in interpreting 121 both traditions about early Tongan social organisation that no longer 175 exists, and present-day social organisation. A fresh look at the results of Cook's voyages has been most rewarding in this attempt to interpret Tongan material culture in the context of its eighteenth-century social system, and perhaps would be equally rewarding for other island groups visited by Cook.

NOTES

This article is a revised version of a lecture given at the University of Oxford in May 1970. 121 It was associated with a special exhibition at the Pitt Rivers Museum of the J. R. Forster [127] collection obtained on Cook's second voyage.

Research on Tongan material culture was carried out in museums in the U.S.A. mainland, 114 Hawaii, Fiji, and Europe from 1967 to 1970 supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Eighteen months fieldwork in Tonga from 1964 to 1967 was 122 supported by Wenner-Gren and Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5F1–MH–25, 984–02 [101] from the National Institute of Mental Health. To both of these agencies I wish to express my appreciation. I wish to thank the many museums that permitted me to study their collections, 114 especially the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, whose collection is the basis of this article, and Peter [127] Gathercole, at that time Lecturer in Ethnology, University of Oxford, for helpful comments on the manuscript. I would also like to acknowledge permission from the Pitt Rivers Museum, [128] Oxford, to publish the photographs in plates 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, and 12 taken by Peter Narracott; plate 7, supplied by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna; and plate 8, supplied by the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts. My thanks are also due to Bruce Erickson of Bishop Museum for the prints in plates 1, 2, 3, and 13—plates 1 and 2 are from the volume of plates from Cook's second voyage, plate 13 is from the volume of plates from Cook's third voyage, and plate 3, is from a kodachrome transparency taken by the author.

[1] Not entirely free, of course, because Le Maire, Tasman, and Wallis had traded also. In fact, 000 the Forsters collected a nail that tradition said came from a European, and which was hafted in Tongan style and used as a gouge—now in Pitt Rivers Museum.

[2] See Whitehead 1969 for similar difficulties in trying to trace zoological specimens from Cook's voyages, and he was not trying to identify his specimens by voyage.

[3] Cleveley was a draughtsman who sailed on the *Adventure*, but left the Cook expedition to go to Iceland with Banks. It is likely that these objects were given to Banks after the second voyage and depicted by his artist, Cleveley, especially as it is thought that Banks gave the volume of prints in which it appears to the British Museum. The volume is noted: 'It is not known how or when these volumes came to the Print Room but probably with some others bequeathed by Sir Joseph Banks and placed there in 1832 and transferred to the Dept. of M.S. in 1845'. Perhaps the baskets were given to the Department of Ethnography at the same time. The date 1774 is a mystery. It cannot refer to the date of the drawing because the Cook expedition did not return to England until 1775. It may refer to the date of collection, because the expedition was in Tonga in 1774.

[4] The Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum also has other volumes of drawings which are very useful for identifying objects from Cook's voyage.

[5] For a comprehensive study of Tongan material culture see Kaeppler (in preparation).

[6] Smith is probably correct, for in a preliminary study for this engraving, now in the Mitchell Library, Sydney (NPL:M (PXD59–^{1})), the figures in the boat are drawn by one artist (Hodges?) while the figures on shore are not only drawn by another artist (Cipriani?), but the paper on which they are sketched is pasted over the Hodges part of the sketch.

[7] It is interesting to note that the Mitchell Library sketch referred to in note 6 is done showing all the fingers on the hands—and it was probably Hodges who instructed the engraver to remove the fingers from the final version.

[8] The outstanding Tongan collections from the third voyage are the Webber collection in [127] Bern, Switzerland, and the collection in Vienna, Austria, purchased at the sale of the Leverian Museum in London in 1806.

[9] See also Moschner 1967; colour plate 5, for a photograph of the other side of the headdress.

[10] It is reproduced in Beaglehole 1967: plate 17, following p. 144, and in Rienits & Rienits 1968: 136.

[11] For a discussion of continuity and change in Tongan dance and social organisation, see Kaeppler 1967, and 1970.

[12] The movement is written in Labanotation in Kaeppler 1967: 515.

93: Urbanowicz E-4 (1970-1971) 1978
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MOTIVES AND METHODS: MISSIONARIES IN TONGA IN THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY(1)

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114 A variety of writers, including Scarr,(2) Rutherford,(3) Kennedy,(4) and
Barney(5) have presented more than adequate views of selected Tongan
political matters after the mid-19th century and into the early part of the
20th century. Decktor Korn's recent exemplary works(6) clearly indicate
that quite a bit of "re-thinking" is still needed in the realm of interpreting
121 changing and aboriginal Tongan culture. It is the intention of this brief
article to place early 19th century Tongan affairs into additional ethnographic perspective by means of ethnohistorical techniques.(7)

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128 1. Earlier versions of this paper were prepared for a variety of Symposia sponsored by the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO); the 71st Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 29–December 2, 1972; the Second Annual Meeting of the ASAO, March 21–25, 1973; and the Fourth Annual Meeting of the ASAO, March 26–30, 1975. Numerous individuals have commented on my Tongan work, none of whom, of course, is responsible for what
101 is presented. Research was conducted in the Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga from July to October 1970 and again from August to October 1971. In the intervening months archival research was conducted in the major libraries of Fiji, New Zealand,
127 and Australia. Most of the research was done in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia. Permission to work with and cite from the various sources held by the numerous institutions is greatfully acknowledged (see Urbanowicz 1972: vi-vii).

2. Scarr 1968.
3. Rutherford 1971.
4. Kennedy 1972.
5. Barney 1974.
6. Decktor Korn 1974, 1975. Increasing interest is also evident by a forthcoming volume edited by Rutherford, advertised as *The Friendly Islands: A History of Tonga.*
7. The term "ethnohistory" is not synonymous with "culture history" as the distinguished Pacific historian H. E. Maude has written (1971:21). The "-history" in the term refers not to the writing of history, but to the application of historical methods to a given body of data, in order to gather verifiable ethnographic facts of the past. See, for example, Biggs (1960), Maranda (1964), Oppenheim (1973), Oliver (1974), or Urbanowicz (1973 and 1975). Unquestionably, historical processes are discussed in the various presentations, but the emphasis in the term "ethnohistory" is on the elucidation of reputable ethnographic evidence of the past. Oliver's 20-year labour of love, for there is no other way to phrase it adequately, is a clear example of what can be accomplished in the realm of Pacific ethnohistory, given a sufficient amount of time and resources; Maranda's work is a classic indication that some of Sahlins' specifics and generalisations (1958) are unwarranted; and Biggs and Oppenheim have each contributed to a further clarification of Maori life by means of ethnohistorical techniques.

93: Urbanowicz E-4 (1970-1971) 1978
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161 In approximately 1800, Goldman's most useful "terminal date" for
aboriginal Polynesian society in general, a numerical estimate of the
Tongan population would probably fall within the range of 15 to 20
thousand people.(22) In attempting to interpret aboriginal and changing
Tongan society from 1800 on, the figure of approximately 15,000 Tongans
114 is useful to keep in mind. Quite frankly, the failure to keep the size of the
population in mind is one of the major reasons that there have been so
many alternatives in interpreting aboriginal Polynesian society in general:
Sahlins stressing the environment and Goldman emphasising status rivalry
as the interpretive paradigm.(23)

There are obviously more Tongans in the 20th century than there were before European contact in Tonga, and various researchers have tended erroneously to project from the interaction patterns of 20th century Tongans to what they (the researchers) have believed to have been the interaction patterns of aboriginal Tongans.(24)

A considerable amount of convoluted thinking about Tonga has resulted
114 from the fact that researchers have not consistently taken into account
177 that aboriginal Tonga is not traditional Tonga, *and* the fact that many
20th century Tongans may have formed their views of what aboriginal
Tonga *was* by reading European accounts of Tonga. Consider, for example,
the following statement from Gifford's 1929 work:

> Of the published works Mariner's Tonga Islands [first published in English in 1817] is by far the most extensive and possesses the merit of great accuracy and understanding on the part of its author. Doubtless Mariner's work is to be regarded as the standard by which modern work is to be checked. A comparison of Mariner's records with mine near the completion of my [1920–1921] sojourn in Tonga revealed a surprising similarity in the two sets of data recorded more than a century apart. Judged by this standard the data recorded in this paper have a relatively high degree of accuracy in spite of 75 years of Christianity in Tonga.(25)

This is all well and good, but the above should be read in conjunction with a statement that Gifford made in an article for this *Journal* in 1924, and which *was not* repeated in the 1929 monograph: "Moreover, many a Tongan's clear conception of the affairs of his nation in the first decade and a half of the 19th century is due to his reading Mariner's 'Tongan Islands' translated into Tongan."(26)

Another, and perhaps the most important, factor which must be kept
642 in mind when attempting to interpret aboriginal (or early-contacted)
177 Tongan society is the Tongan Constitution of 1875 promulgated by King
George Tupou I (with the assistance of European advisers). With the
introduction of this Constitution much of the inherent consensus and
flexibility of aboriginal Tongan society was solidified into a pseudo-

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22. Goldman 1970: xxviii.
23. Sahlins 1958; Goldman 1970.
24. For examples, see Kaeppler 1971, Gifford 1929, Sahlins 1958, and Goldman 1970.
25. Gifford 1929:3.
26. Gifford 1924:289.

797 Although Walter Lawry was in the Tongan Islands for a little more than
[177] a year, his reports back to London influenced what was to follow.
Specifically, Lawry stressed the supposed "ripeness" for a mission in
Tonga and the need for material goods for the successful completion of
[114] the mission's work. Lawry's successor, John Thomas, arrived with his
wife and another missionary family in June 1826. Thomas, more than any
other 19th century European, provided us with some excellent accounts
of Tonga.

It has been asserted above that in aboriginal Tongan society consensus
642 and flexibility were key concepts of the political system. An individual who
571 wanted to lead the people had to have support, and even the Tu'i Tonga
'Sovereign of Tonga' could not be appointed to office (or remain in office)
without the support of the people. Thomas recorded that "there is a union
amongst the Tonga people, especially the chiefs, so that they consult each
642 other before they determine anything".(39) With the systematic introduction
of Western material goods and eventually Wesleyan ideology in the 19th
177 century, a not-so-subtle restructuring of aboriginal religious beliefs and
the body politic began. Under Wesleyan encouragement, individual
[643] Tongan chiefs soon rose to power, and the most important was Taufa'ahau,
later known as King George Tupou I.

In the early years of the mission, things did not go smoothly for the
797 Wesleyans. The Tongans often told Thomas and Hutchinson what they
had earlier said to Lawry: "Your religion is very good for you, and ours
is very good for us."(40) Thomas wrote that the Tongan chief Ata feared
797 that if the Tongans "allowed the [Wesleyan] praying to go on the English
565 will come by and by and take their land".(41) The important role of the
individual Tongan chief must be stressed. If a chief was converted, his
people also converted with him. Thomas wrote: "It is said by the head
Chief, or King, of Tonga, Tubou, that if Ata turn, all Tonga will turn to
Christianity; and on this one point this important matter depends."(42)

797 The Wesleyans made numerous attempts to convert the last Tu'i Tonga
Laufilitonga but they failed, and he became a Catholic convert, a faith he
643 professed until his death in 1865. The Tamahā, on the other hand, did
convert to Wesleyanism and the Wesleyans scored quite a coup when this
797 happened. Thomas wrote that "Tamma ha had turned to God — also her
brother Fehokohabai, and all the people of Tungua [in the Ha'apai group]
644 have turned".(43)

The Wesleyan missionaries gradually gained a foothold in the islands,
797 first on Tongatapu and then elsewhere. With the aid of Taufa'ahau (and
the Tamahā) the Wesleyan missionaries eventually expanded their stations
[643] into the Ha'apai and Vava'u group of islands. The process, however, was
[644] slow, and the Wesleyan missionary Watkin (in the islands from 1831 to
1837) wrote on the mission in 1835: " . . . in Tonga [it] is almost confined
to Nukualofa, [and] a spirit of opposition to Christ appears to have grown

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39. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Feb. 11, 1828.
40. Lawry n.d.: entry for Dec. 21, 1822.
41. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Mar. 16, 1828.
42. Thomas 1828.
43. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Dec. 12, 1832.

93: Urbanowicz E-4 (1970-1971) 1978
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643 It is probable that should this take place a war would be the immediate consequence".(50)

797 Jiosaia Tupou was not deposed, and he retained his delicate position as Tu'i Kanokupolu until his death on November 18, 1845. In his position as Tu'i Kanokupolu, Jiosaia Tupou did not exert pressure on the Tongan people to convert to Wesleyanism. Thomas wrote that certain chiefs were saying that "Tubou is taeofa [*ta'e 'ofa*], that is without care to them. He does not speak to them about the new religion".(51) On the other hand, when Tupou did get seriously involved in the work of the mission, Thomas was not at all pleased with that, as the following relates: "The chief is not a firm friend to the cause. He wishes to be the head of all things, not only the inhabitants of Tonga, but to the Church of Christ here."(52)

The Wesleyan missionary Tucker termed Jiosaia Tupou's government "miserably inefficient".(53) Such inefficiency, however, allowed the Wesleyans to become firmly entrenched in the islands.

Part of the Wesleyan methods also involved using the beachcombers
797 who were in the archipelago as translators and intermediaries. When
563 Thomas arrived, he reported:

> 797 I learn from a young man here, an Englishman, that Tonga at this time is principally in the possession of petty chiefs. Some few years
> 642 ago the great men departed this life and some were killed — even the King's family now have no power — but these chiefs fought and defended Tonga and they now possess the part they have rescued from their enemies, so at this time they seem much confused, having no head man.(54)

797 Concerning the overall lack of Tongan leadership at this time, N. Turner wrote: "Mr. Lawry was certainly in an error when he published to the
643 world in an [sic] magazine that the offices of Tuikanakabola, and Tuitonga, where [sic] then filled. See Mag^e Sep. 1825 for no person is yet created to the latter office."(55)

Because of the problems between Taufa'ahau and Laufilitonga (the *Tu'i Tonga* to be), the Wesleyans were able to gain a stronger foothold in the archipelago.

669 A major series of battles took place in the Ha'apai group of islands in 1826 between the forces of Laufilitonga and Taufa'ahau. Although Lâtûkefu has written that "it took place during a period when there were
669 no Europeans such as William Mariner or Vason to give eye-witness
114 accounts" and therefore, according to Lâtûkefu, "oral traditions were the only source of information on the events of 1825 and 1826",(56) this is only partially correct. Although there were no "eyewitnesses" to the battles, Thomas and Hutchinson *did* record such information in their manuscript

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50. Cross 1830.
51. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for July 29, 1832.
52. Thomas 1834.
53. Tucker 1838.
54. Thomas n.d. *Journals* entry for Jan. 30, 1827.
55. Turner, N. 1827.
56. Lâtûkefu 1968:140.

accounts. As Thomas wrote in September of 1826: 669

> Early this morning a canoe arrived here from the Hapies [or Ha'apai] (to the Inache ['*inasi*]) which brought intelligence that they were at [114] war at the Hapie Islands. The King [Taufa'ahau] of the Hapies and the Tui of Tonga (as he is called) have fallen out. However we expect it to be of short continuance to Tooi or King of Hapie is likely to be the worst of it, as the other islands are all against him.(57)

By the end of October the battle still raged in the Ha'apai Islands, and Hutchinson wrote back to England: "The war at the Hapies continues to rage. If the King of Tonga [Laufilitonga] should be overcome, we shall soon be in serious circumstances; and something of this is expected, as the people have received orders to prepare for war".(58)

Taufa'ahau was eventually victorious, and his star in the Tongan [643] firmament began to rise.

THE WESLEYANS AND ACCELERATED CHANGES

Although it may not have been deliberate missionary policy, the 797 Wesleyan approach was literally that of "divide-and-conquer" as they turned Tongan against Tongan. The three religious wars in 1837, 1840, and 1852 were ferocious. Of the 1840 war, Thomas wrote that he told the 669 Tu'i Kanokupolu Jiosaia Tupou that "the heathens [or non-Wesleyan 798 Tongans] had acted more kind a great deal than the Christians and that they were less disposed for war".(59) The Wesleyan missionary P. Turner, commenting on one battle, stated: "The heathens seem determined to die in their foolishness. I am told that they have made an oath to do so, before they will yield to the Xtns.(60)

Tongan society was altered from within and from without: from within 177 by Tongans who were desirous of change, and from without by Europeans who were advising and encouraging the Tongans to change. This internal 178 and external restructuring process, however, must be viewed as a complementary one. Without the presence of the Wesleyan missionaries Tongan 797 society would never have developed as it did.

The Wesleyans were aided in their restructuring process by the occasional appearance of vessels of the British Navy in Tongan waters. On visits from 797 passing British vessels Thomas wrote: "From what I have heard by the 648 natives in reference to the visit of His Majesty's Ship of War at Vavow, the effect will be very beneficial and lasting. The [Tongan] King and his people seem to think that religion is of more importance now than they were willing to believe."(61)

The Wesleyans also tried to get various ships to "remove" some of the 797 beachcombers in the archipelago. The British vessel H.M.S. *Seringapatam* 648 arrived at the islands in 1830, and the captain removed some Frenchmen who were "troublemakers".(62) 563

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57. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Sept. 25, 1826.
58. Hutchinson 1826.
59. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Aug. 4, 1840.
60. Turner, P. n.d.: entry for July 19, 1840.
61. Thomas 1830.
62. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for June 10, 1830.

distinct advantage. This point comes across in Lâtûkefu's work(75) and is stressed in Cummins' review where he points out that "in the process of change and modification that resulted from missionary involvement in political affairs, the Tongan chiefs and people were by no means clay in the potter's hands."(76) 177 797

Decktor Korn's work is pointing out the need to re-think Tongan social structure for, indeed, "a noble view is a faulty basis for generalising about an entire society".(77) The analyses of Gifford,(78) Sahlins,(79) Goldman,(80) and others must be put into perspective. Barney(81) has more than adequately pointed out that the "literate revolution" was an important factor in the political processes of Tonga after the mid-19th century. It is more than clear that "twentieth century Tonga is not aboriginal Tonga"(82) just as the late 19th century was not aboriginal Tonga. As stated elsewhere: 114

> There is a certain amount of timelessness inherent in some ethnographic reports: a timelessness which stems from the quest of the synchronic description *cum* analysis of culture . . . . Change obviously takes place over time, yet all too often statements in the published accounts have compressed many of the unique aspects of Tongan culture into a homogenized whole.(83)

When researchers lump all of the Tongan data into a fictive "ethnographic present" statement, not only do they do the data an injustice, but they also do Tongans a gross injustice!

EPILOGUE

> It almost seems as if Anatole France had uttered a truth which were valid for the whole Western world, when, in his *Penguin Island*, Catherine d'Alexandrie offers this advice to God: "Donnez leu une ame, mais une petite"!(84) 000

The 19th century missionary refrain did appear to be "Give them a soul, but a little one!" In numerous respects, 19th century missionaries did not aid the Tongans in becoming first-class Tongans, but rather encouraged the Tongans into becoming second-class Victorians! A classic example of the 19th century Wesleyan paternalistic attitudes towards Tongans is a statement made by the Rev. T. Adams in 1853: 797

> It is only by the judicious maintenance of salutary discipline that our present triumphs can be secured and provisions made for the stability and perpetuity of the work which we are labouring to promote. *We think the time has not yet come to consent to native agents in Tonga*

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75. Lâtûkefu 1974.
76. Cummins 1975:106.
77. Decktor Korn 1974:12.
78. Gifford 1929.
79. Sahlins 1955.
80. Goldman 1970.
81. Barney 1974.
82. Urbanowicz 1973:119.
83. Urbanowicz 1975:559.
84. Jung 1927:xxviii.

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
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cultural context of population characteristics. The difference is that in one case the demographer is invited onto anthropological territory, and in the other case the anthropologist speaks the demographer's language. 121

Enumerating the Population of Motulahi

Rather than continuing to discuss household surveys in the abstract, I shall use my own data from the Kingdom of Tonga as an example. These materials were collected in the course of an anthropological investigation of local organization in Tonga (conducted over a ten-month period in 1969—70). 101

The Tonga Islands lie just west of the International Dateline in the South Pacific Ocean, east of Fiji and south of Samoa. There are about 150 named islands, but most of them are little more than elevated reefs and have no potential for cultivation or settlement. Thirty-six islands were inhabited at the time of the last reported census, held in 1966 (Fiefia 1968, Rogers 1969). These inhabited islands comprise 238.81 square miles, almost 90 % of the land area of Tonga. At the census of [161] 1966 the population was 77,429, of whom 98.31 % were classified as [162] Tongan (in contrast to others such as Europeans, part-Europeans, and other Pacific Islanders). The majority of the population lives in villages [361] that are dotted throughout the islands in a nuclear pattern of village settlements. Most of the people who live in the rural areas and many of [241] those who live in the towns are wholly or partially dependent for their [433] livelihoods on peasant agriculture.

My research was based in the village of Motulahi, one of the largest 114 villages on Tongatapu, the main island of Tonga. It might be asked 184 whether Motulahi is a typical village. However, the nation of a typical village has no application to Tonga, for there is considerable diversity among Tongan villages with respect to a number of important variables. For example, there are significant differences between isolated village-islands on the one hand and villages on the relatively large island of Tongatapu on the other, or between a village on Tongatapu less than a mile from the capital town and another at the far end of Tongatapu. Villages in Tonga also differ considerably with respect to size of population, from less than one hundred people to more than one thousand, and the dimension of size cuts across the dimension of location. There

621 common for youngsters from the outer islands to be sent to live with
162 a family on Tongatapu so that they can attend the better schools on
871 the main island.
[168]

There is less similarity to national demographic characteristics when
we examine the proportion of males in the population; that is, there are
considerable differences between the figures for Motulahi and those for
[562] the population as a whole (see Table 1). The excess of males over
[166] females in the 10—19 year-old group might be accounted for by the
fact that, while there is no overt sex discrimination in education
opportunity, a boy's parents are more likely to make the effort involved in
moving to live on the main island or sending their child to live there.
[464] The excess of females in the 20—29 and 30—39 year-old groups might
be accounted for by the fact that men in those age-categories may be
living away from the main island to earn a living on the land or in
some job while the wife and children live where the children can take
121 advantage of educational opportunities. However, I do not have a great
162 deal of confidence in these explanations. The age-sex structure of the
national population calls for further demographic investigation, and
differences between the age-sex proportions for Motulahi and the nation
as a whole could be accounted for by random variation.

Anomalies, Discrepancies, and Ethnographic Validity

125 Again, had I been interested in these matters at the time the data were
114 collected, I would undoubtedly be in a better position now. For one
thing, I would surely have been more careful in collecting data on
people's age and checking the accuracy of these data. Then, I was
usually content to record what I was told about a person's age at the
nearest birthday; I seldom bothered to ask for the exact birth date, and
there were few cases where the answer to my question about a person's
age seemed so anomalous that I felt it necessary to probe beyond the
first response. However, I now feel that the accuracy of my data on age
must be regarded with some reservation, and of course this affects the
value of other demographic data, particularly material relating to
[163] fertility. The assumption that the data on exact age are not accurate is the
[162] most likely explanation for the anomalous finding that only two young
[621] women in the village said to be under the age of twenty had already

162 *Table 2. Maternal Age at the Birth of the First Child among Women of Motulahi*
163 *(1970) Aged Fifteen and Over, and Compared with the National Census (1966)*
621

Age at Birth of First Child	Women of Motulahi							Tonga
	15—19 (N=64) %	20—24 (N=58) %	25—29 (N=35) %	30—39 (N=66) %	40—49 (N=51) %	50+ (N=50) %	Total (N=324) %	Total (N=20,456) %
Below 20	3.1	15.5	14.3	15.2	13.7	16.0	12.7	15.1
20—24	NA	22.4	42.9	33.3	17.6	22.0	21.6	33.3
25—29	NA	NA	8.6	19.7	23.5	8.0	9.9	10.2
Over 30	NA	NA	NA	4.5	2.0	6.0	2.2	3.3
Age at first birth not known	—	—	2.9	10.6	33.3	44.0	14.5	—
No children	96.9	62.1	22.9	12.1	9.8	4.0	37.3	35.9
No relevant data	—	—	8.6	4.5	—	—	1.9	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.2	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.0

Sources: fieldwork survey; Fiefia 1968: 58, 62.

114 given birth and none of those said to be twenty had already given birth,
125 whereas 15.5 % of the women aged 20—24 gave birth for the first time
163 before the age of twenty (see Table 2).

162
621 What is interesting is that the official report on the national census of 1966 presents similarly anomalous data in that 95.37 % of women
162 aged 15—19 had never given birth (Fiefia 1968: 58), whereas 15.1 %
163 of all women aged fifteen and over gave birth for the first time before
659 the age of twenty (see Table 2). The national census, however, does not give a breakdown of maternal age at the birth of the first child classified according to the woman's current age, so it is not clear whether these data are as problematic as the data from Motulahi. It should also be noted that the Census Officer for the 1966 census repeatedly mentions his reservations regarding the accuracy of the census data on age, and emphasizes this in commenting on the findings relating to maternal age at the birth of the first child (Fiefia 1968: 20), so the points is not that the problem is not recognized by those responsible for

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
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Tongatapu
Motulahi

NOTE

* This is a slightly revised version of a paper presented at the Symposium on 114
Demographic Studies of Small Populations held at the Annual Meeting of
the American Anthropological Association, Washington D.C., November 20,
1976. I thank Kathy Adams, Lee Lefferts, and Fred Korn for valuable discussion while I was preparing the paper.

Fieldwork in Tonga was supported by an International Fellowship from 122
the American Association of University Women, and this support is gratefully acknowledged. I also wish to thank the Government of Tonga under 114
His Majesty King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV for permission to conduct fieldwork. Particular thanks are due to the people of the village I have called
"Motulahi" for tolerating my enquiries, and I have done what I can in
reporting my findings to protect their privacy. For this reason I cannot name
those to whom I am especially grateful. However, I do wish to acknowledge 115
my special debt to Vai T, the person who assisted me in conducting the
household survey discussed in the paper.

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95: Claessen E-4 (no date) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9
(1770-1820)

[ca. 900-1470]

172 is that only a large, well-organized community could have put up these
174 structures (Mc Kern, p. 67 ff., 120 ff.). To his mind these structures
are well beyond the powers of a village chief, who can count on the
172 help of only a few well-disposed villagers. Only rulers highly elevated
174 above the common folk have the power to have this done. If the time-
643 scheme of Gifford (p. 49 ff.) is correct, these rulers must have borne
the title of *Tui Tonga* (i.e., Lord of Tonga). Working back from the
174 year 1865 in which the last *Tui Tonga* died, and assuming an average
643 reign of 25 years, this dynasty, of which the list of generations mentions
39 successive rulers,[1] may have come to power in the 10th century.[2]

The first *Tui Tonga*, the legendary founder of the dynasty, Ahoeitu,
[173] is supposed to have had a divine father, who seduced a woman on earth
(Collocott 1924, p. 169; Gifford, p. 52; Buck, p. 300). The building
of the famous trilithon Haamonga a Maui, a sort of gate built of
[349] three enormous blocks of stone, is ascribed to one of his descendants,
the 11th *Tui Tonga* Tuitatui. Collocott (1924, p. 171) dates this king
about 1200. Thomson (1902, p. 83) dates him in the 14th century.

According to traditional history Samoa was turned into a kind of
173 colony during the reign of the 15th *Tui Tonga* (Ella, p. 231; Collocott
174 1924, p. 175; Williamson I, p. 143; Gifford, p. 54). A comparison
648 with Samoan traditions confirms this (Schultz-Ewerth, p. 66; Buck,
p. 302; Suggs, p. 99). This subjection was only temporary, but after
the loss of this colony the relations with Samoa still continue.

Under the 25th *Tui Tonga* Kauulufonuafekai, who must have ruled
174 about 1470, a change in government was effected which would have
643 important consequences for the future. For he appointed his brother
178 hereditary head of the government and war leader, and reserved the
sacral part of his office for himself "... which gave him the best that
the land provided in produce and beautiful women" (Gifford, p. 56).[3]
His brother, the head of the Haa Takalaua (the Takalaua family),
bore the title of *Hau* as a temporal prince, but customarily this ruler

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●[114] [1] We find this list in Gifford, p. 50. Although largely agreeing, the genealogies as we find them in Thomson 1894, p. 304 ff. and Collocott 1924, p. 166 ff. differ in detail.

[114] [2] Estimating the average number of years for one generation is a speculative business. Suggs, p. 53, shows how a term of 25 years in certain cases can lead to utterly incorrect results. In Collocott's article (1924, p. 182 ff.) 21 *Tui Kanokupolu* are mentioned, who reigned altogether from 1650 to 1965 (death of queen Salote). The average period of government would then be about 15 years. See on this also Mc Kern, p. 100 ff. and Williamson I, p. 11.

[3] Lawry 1851, p. 65; West, p. 55; Collocott 1924, p. 176 ff.; Williamson I, p. 143 ff.; Gifford, p. 55 ff.; Koch, p. 107.

[ca. 1470 – 1643]

is referred to as the *Tui Haa Takalaua.* According to tradition the 174
reason for this change in the system of government was the violent 643
deaths of several *Tui Tonga.* In this way the ruler hoped from now on 178
to keep out of harm's way (Lawry 1851, p. 65; Collocott 1924, p. 177; [173]
Gifford, p. 48). This was indeed the case, but in the long run the *Tui Tonga* himself was to lose much of his power and influence.

In the 17th century we find another alteration in the government of the country. The *Tui Haa Takalaua* then reigning, called Moungatonga, appointed his son his deputy. In fact the latter now became the *Hau.* Usually he is referred to as *Tui Kanokupolu* — a title which really refers to his position as head of a distinguished family. Here, too, the father preferred a life of esteem and luxury, but without direct power (Lawry 1851, p. 65; Thomson 1894, p. 309 ff.; Collocott 1924, p. 180; Gifford, p. 87). A short time after this, with the coming [175]
of Le Maire and Schouten in 1616, the historical era begins.

2. *From the first visitors to the civil wars (1616-1793).*

It is no simple matter to relate the visits of certain Dutchmen to 175
certain rulers. Thomson (1894, p. 310) regards the first *Tui Kanokupolu* 643
as a contemporary of Le Maire and Schouten, and there are 177
no reasons to disbelieve this. These Dutchmen do not supply any data concerning this point, as they visited only a few islands in the extreme North of the Tonga group (Sharp, p. 73). Tasman, who arrived at Tongatapu in 1643, offers some more data. As the name of the "Coninck off overste" (king or captain) whom he met there he gives Latouw or Aisij (Tasman, p. 75). We also find the name of Latou in Le Maire (p. 58), while Cook (1803, V, p. 391) and Georg Forster (p. 256) also mention the names Latoo or Latu. We assume that this must be the title of *Tui.* From Tasman's information we get the impression that he met a very distinguished chief, but whether this was the *Tui Tonga* or one of the other top officials cannot be ascertained (cf. Tasman, p. 60 ff.). Tasman brought a number of drawings back from his visit — at least his journal contains a number of prints of Tongatapu. The value of such 17th century pictures, from an ethnological point of view, is rather small (Pott, pass.). Basing himself on traditions, Gifford [114] ●
places this visit in the reign of the 31st *Tui Tonga.* Thomson, on the other hand, believes that it was the 28th *Tui Tonga* who received the Dutchmen hospitably (Thomson 1894, p. 311). A conclusive answer to this problem is impossible for us.

[1791- 1793]

175 571 578 *Tui Tonga.* Dentrecasteaux (I, p. 306 ff.) gives a similar version of what happened.

3. *The prelude to the civil wars (1793-1799).*

175 578 643 It is difficult to obtain a clear picture of what happened in this period from the mass of confused and contradictory reports. Troubles already began with Paulaho's death. According to Malaspina, who visited the Vavau Islands in May 1793, the king had been killed in a battle with the chief Vuna, who claimed authority over Vavau.[7] [634] After this battle Vuna became lord of the Vavau group and his son was invested with the chieftainship of the Haapai Islands (Malaspina, p. 242). The widow of Paulaho for the time being remained on Tongatapu. [114] Thomson (1894, p. 321) believes the king to have died in 1784. He does not explain why he believes this. Gifford (p. 88) takes this for granted. However, in Bligh (p. 106), who called at Nomuka in 1789, we find the information that he heard from the inhabitants that Paulaho, Finau and Tubou were still alive. Now the names Finau and Tubou are applicable to more than one person, but Paulaho is not. In that case he cannot have died in 1784. Dumont d'Urville goes even further. He thinks it highly probable, on the evidence of information from captain Edwards of the "Pandora", that Paulaho was still alive in 1791 (Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 183; 1846, II, p. 53).[8] If we accept this, it would cause quite a shift in the views, sometimes rather speculative, which we find in Gifford. The picture of Tongan history 175 578 643 644 does become clearer, however, if we do. If we place the death of Paulaho in 1791 or 1792 it would lead to a sequence in which this death just precedes a number of occasions on which Paulaho's widow, Tubou Moheofo, plays a leading part. If we accept Gifford's date of his death, we would have to find an explanation for the curious fact that not until eight years after the death of her husband did she play a role, however short, in Tongan politics. It appears, namely, that Tubou Moheofo made an effort to acquire the office of *Tui Kanokupolu*

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[634] [7] These claims are based on the fact that an earlier *Tui Kanokupolu* gave the rule of the Vavau Islands to Vuna's family. Paulaho, however, appointed a certain Tui Tuiohu, the father of Finau I and II, chief of these islands (Gifford, p. 139). Cf. note 10.

Malaspina (p. 251) met a Finau Ulukalala on Vavau. This was probably Finau II, who was preparing the recapture of power.

[114] [8] Wilson, p. lix, also reproduces this information from Edwards. Despite much trouble we have not been able to trace Edwards' book.

[1792-1806]

175 *Tui Haa Takalaua.* In their writings he is mentioned as Mulicemar
643 (Wilson, p. 231, 248; Farmer, p. 83, 87). Furthermore the missionaries
797 met the son of Paulaho. They mention him with his family name of
[551] Fatafehi, but he was in fact Fuanunuiava, the future *Tui Tonga*
(Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 184; 1846, II, p. 54).

4. *The civil wars (1799-1820).*

175 During the reign of *Tui Tonga* Maulupekotofa (1792-1806) civil
669 war broke out. In this conflict Tukuaho, who succeeded his father in
643 1797, represented what we might call the government party (for his
634 succession, see Wilson, p. 240, 249). There was a great rivalry between him and Finau Ulukalala II, chief of the Vavau Islands.[10] The crisis came to a head in 1799. On the occasion of a religious ceremony
[682] the island lords gathered on Tongatapu, and Finau's ally Tubou Niua
of Vavau killed Tukuaho (Mariner, p. 90; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 187 ff.; Lawry 1851, p. 66; Farmer, p. 97 ff.; Geschichte der christlichen Missionen, p. 62). A great confusion arose. The *Tui Tonga* sided with Finau (Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 191) and the *Tui Haa Takalaua* also supported him, so that on the face of it it is
175 somewhat difficult to accuse Finau of rebellious acts. However, when
669 we take into account that the temporal power formally rested with the
Tui Kanokupolu, it is evident that the murder of this official meant

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[10] Gifford, p. 139, discusses the position of the Ulukalala family extensively. He is of the opinion that they were hereditary rulers of the Vavau Islands. This is not quite correct, as appears from note 7. Finau I, who is described by Cook, was possibly a brother of Finau II, the patron of Mariner. See for this Wilson, p. 254; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 183; Farmer, p. 80; Geschichte der chr. M., p. 54; Thomson 1894, p. 321. About the date of Finau I's death opinions differ. The "Duff" missionaries at any rate witnessed the death of a Finau Ulukalala in 1797 — who they thought was the Finau mentioned by Cook.

How the reign in the Vavau Islands can be squared with the influence of Finau I on the Haapai group, as we can read in Cook (1803, IX, p. 103), is not clear. Cf. Walther, p. 76; Zimmermann, p. 18 ff. According to Gifford, p. 135, a certain Matauvave is the ruler here, possibly the son of Vuna.

Dumont d'Urville 1846, II, p. 56, mentions Finau II as lord of the Haapai Islands. This is corroborated by West, p. 55. These assertions probably go back to Mariner, who ascribes the rule of these islands to his lord. He
114 points to the war which Finau II had to wage to subject the Vavau Islands.
634 However, it appears, also in Mariner, that the power over the Haapai group had first to be captured by Finau II (Mariner, p. 87).

669 The struggle between the Vuna family and Finau II may possibly offer an explanation for the tensions between Finau and Tukuaho, for Vuna was the candidate of the *Tui Kanokupolu* (Gifford, p. 139). (Cf. Note 7).

[1792-1965]

643 of this marriage would succeed his grandfather as George II in 1893 644 (Thomson 1894, p. 46; Gifford, p. 86). In his person the families of the *Tui Tonga* and the *Tui Kanokupolu* were joined. His daughter Salote (i.e. Charlotte) succeeded her father in 1918. Her husband, the prince-consort Tungi, was a descendant of the Haa Takalaua, so that in their son, who has been on the ancient throne of Tonga since 1965, the blood of all three great Tongan families is united (Koch, p. 108; Latukefu, p. 159 ff.).[13]

H. J. M. CLAESSEN

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APPENDIX

List of periods of government[14]

Tui Tonga.

1.	Paulaho	reigned till 1792.	
2.	Maulupekotofa	1792—1806.	
3.	Fuanunuiava	1806—1810.	
4.	Laufilitonga	1810—1865.	

Tui Haa Takalaua.

1.	Maeliuaki	reigned in 1777.	
2.	Fuatakifolaha	? — ?	(Gifford places him after no. 3)
3.	Mulikihaamea	1792—1800.	(No other T.H.T. is appointed after him).

Tui Kanokupolu.

1.	Tupoulahi	reigned in 1773.	
2.	Maeliuaki	reigned in 1777.	
3.	Tui Halafatai	? — ?	both are mentioned by Gifford.
4.	Tubou Lahisii	? — ?	
5.	Mulikihaamea	? —1792.	
6.	Tubou Moheofo	1792.	
7.	Mumui	1792—1797.	
8.	Tukuaho	1797—1799.	
9.	Maafuolimuola	1800.	
10.	Tubou Malohi	1800—1812.	
11.	Tubou Toa	1812—1820.	
12.	Josiah Tubou	1827—1833.	
13.	George Tubou	1833—1893.	
14.	George II	1893—1918.	
15.	Salote	1918—1965.	
16.	Taufaahau	1965———.	

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[114] [13] According to Mr. Latukefu, p. 159, Salote was a great-granddaughter of the last *Tui Tonga*. However, according to our sources she was the great-granddaughter of a brother of the *Tui Tonga*.

[14] Maurelle, who called at the Tonga Islands in 1780, gives no information about the various rulers. He only met Paulaho on Vavau and gives a description of this monarch (p. 285 ff.).

96: Lister N-5 (1889-1890) 1891
OU9 Tonga OU9

000 35. NOTES on the GEOLOGY of the TONGA ISLANDS. By J. J. LISTER, Esq., M.A. (Read June 24, 1891.)

[Communicated by J. E. MARR, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Sec. G.S.]

[PLATE XXIII.]

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I. INTRODUCTION.

121 VERY little of a detailed character has, so far as I am aware, been published on the geology of the Tonga Islands.

Prof. Dana makes a brief mention of some of the islands in 'Coral and Coral Islands'*; and in the edition of 'Coral Reefs' published in 1874 Darwin gave a summary of what was known of the group†.

114 I spent several months in Tonga in 1889 and 1890, and had opportunities of visiting some of the islands in H.M.S. 'Egeria,' which was engaged, for part of the time, in making a survey. Such observations as I made on the geology of the group are embodied in the following notes.

126 I am indebted to Mr. Alfred Harker, M.A., F.G.S., who has
114 examined the volcanic rocks which I obtained ‡, and also to Dr. John Murray, who has looked over sections of the calcareous rocks of Eua.

II. TOPOGRAPHY OF THE GROUP.

131 The Tonga or Friendly Islands are situated in the Pacific Ocean between 18° and 22° 30′ lat. S., and on either side of the 175th degree long. W. Tongatabu lies a little over 1000 miles to the N.N.E. of Auckland in New Zealand. The large islands of Fiji are about 400 miles to the W.N.W., and those of Samoa about 300 miles to the N.N.E.

The greater number of islands fall into three main groups. The
[103] northernmost is Vavau, which consists of one moderately large island (about 13 miles in its longest diameter), giving its name to

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* 2nd ed., pp. 283 & 289.

† P. 212 and elsewhere, 3rd ed. (1889).

[113] ‡ Mr. Harker has published notes on these specimens in the Geol. Mag. for June, 1891.

96: Lister N-5 (1889-1890) 1891
OU9 Tonga OU9

[Tongatabu]

133 channel is composed of a higher central area, separated by a rapid descent from the lower peripheral part. It has evidently been elevated in two stages.

IV. Conclusion.

133 105 The view of the mode of formation of the Tonga atolls suggested in Darwin's 'Coral Reefs,' is that they grew during a period of subsidence, when the volcanoes of the group were inactive, and that elevation has occurred simultaneously with a recent volcanic outbreak *. Dana also considers that the islands were formed during subsidence, and regards the elevation which has taken place as merely a local phenomenon †. The additional information on the group which we now possess appears to make a different view of the formation of these islands more probable. It is clear that elevation has been in progress for a long period, and has been renewed again and again after intervals during which reefs of considerable extent have grown; it has to a greater or less extent affected all the larger divisions of the group, while at Vavau and Eua reef-structures have been raised to heights of over 500 and 1000 feet.

Such an elevatory movement is quite in keeping with the presence of the line of volcanoes which traverses the group, and I am not aware that there is any evidence that these have, as a whole, passed through a quiescent stage previous to their activity in recent times.

With regard to atolls in general, one reason for considering them to have been formed during subsidence is the improbability of there being any other basis than a subsided island on which the reefs could have grown. In the Tonga Islands, however, the soundings of H.M.S. 'Egeria' show that Tongatabu and Nomuka rest on shallow banks, and where the underlying basis of the islands is exposed, as in the Nomuka group and at Eua, it is seen that they consist of layers of volcanic materials laid out under water. The process now going on at Falcon Island illustrates the way in which a volcanic mound, composed of soft material and originally standing above the sea, may be reduced to a submarine bank, and so form a basis for coral growth.

In consideration of these facts it appears probable that the atoll-shaped islands of the southern part of the Tonga Group have grown on banks of volcanic material laid out in shallow water, and that there is no necessity to call in the hypothesis of subsidence to account for their formation.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXIII.

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[114] Map of the Tonga Islands. The map of Eua is prepared partly from the survey of H.M.S. 'Egeria' (1888). The outlines of the patches of volcanic formation in the central part of the island are not accurately drawn.

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* 'Coral Reefs,' 3rd ed. pp. 177, 186, 188.

[113] † 'Origin of Coral Reefs and Islands,' Am. Journ. Sci. ser. 3, vol. xxx. (1885) p. 90.

100: Koch--5 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

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FOREWORD

114 101 This work is essentially the result of my research journey to the Tonga Islands. From October 1951 to June 1952 I stayed in this Archipelago and worked in five Tongan settlements: on the small islands of Nomuka, Lifuka and 'Uiha, on the larger Vava'u Island and in the "capital city" Nuku'alofa. In June/July 1952 I visited Samoa and Fiji for comparative study.

121 The concept of "culture" that underlies this work embraces everything that man brings forth in his struggle with his environment and his fellowmen, that is to say, economy, technology, as well as society and the"spiritual aspects" (namely, religion, art, knowledge).

[177] The change in this culture brought about by European influence is here referred to as "cultural change."

128 In the first part of the work, the Tongan cultural change in the various areas of native life is examined, the present condition being compared with the past (that is, at the time of beginning European influence).

In the second part, the general course of that cultural change is described and then compared with the cultural change among three other primitive communities, in order, thereafter, to attempt an interpretation of the causes of this development in Tongan culture.

The third, concluding part of the work contains a general consideration of cultural change among primitive peoples, brought about by European influences, and an account of the various methods used in examining it.[A]

The, in part, quite detailed description of the present state of Tongan culture proposes to enable the reader to check specific conclusions, to make comprehension easier for the non-Oceanist, and, in addition, to give a general picture of a present-day Polynesian culture beyond the special problem of cultural change.

[A] [This section, comprising pp. 332-351 of the foreign text, has not been translated for the OU9 Tonga file. --Analyst]

/8 cont./

128 much indebted for numerous suggestions.

His Royal Highness Crownprince Tungi of Tonga I thank for his great understanding for my work and his influential assistance.

114 I should also like to mention in particular my faithful Tonga friend, F. Sitoa of Nomuka who, for three months, was my constant companion and intelligent go-between.

000 I am indebted to so many who willingly helped me in the field that it would be unjust to mention individual names. Nevertheless, I should like to mention a few here:

Mr. W. Straatmans and Mr. M.L. Apon, Nuku'alofa (Tonga);
S. Matoto, Nomuka (Tonga);
Tukia, Pangai/Lifuka (Tonag);
The Honorable Malupo, 'Uiha (Tonga);
H. To'angutu, 'Uiha (Tonga);
/9/ 'A. Vaea, 'Uiha (Tonga);
S. Amalani, Fungamisi/Vava'u (Tonga);
Mr. Schulke, Vava'u (Tonga);
Mr. E. Stehlin, Apia (Samoa);
Father Jepson, Apia (Samoa);
Father Merten, Falealupo/Savai'i (Samoa);
Vito, Falealupo/Savai'i (Samoa);
Mr. W.J.E. Eason, M.A., Suva (Fiji);
E.N. Sanimo, Nasigatoka (Fiji);
Mr. A.E. May, Roseville/Sydney (Australia).

128 I must thank Dr. H. Hurlimann, Winterthur/Switzerland, for the scientific names of Tongan plants.

To Mrs. G. Konig I am indebted for the drawings and the map.

My wife I thank for her tireless assistance in the clerical work and the proofreading; with the latter my mother also helped me very much.

G. K.

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131 /11/

INTRODUCTION

The Tonga Islands lie in the southwestern Pacific. The

/11 cont./

131 Archipelago comprises 159 predominantly small islands scattered between approximately 15 degrees and 23 degrees latitude south and 173 degrees and 176 degrees longitude west. The entire land area amounts to approximately 696 square kilometers. (1)

[113] [114] 1. = 268.9 square miles, according to the list in A. H. Wood, A History and Geography of Tonga /cited in English/, Auckland, 1945, p. 109; as yet, completely reliable information does not seem to exist; however, the area of 997 square kilometers quoted by W. Geisler (Allgemeine Landerkunde von Australien und Ozeanien /General geography of Australia and Oceania/, Hannover 1931. p. 21) is probably too high.

The largest of the 36 inhabited Tonga Islands are Tongatapu (2)

[194] [656] 2. The new spelling in Tonga, determined by government ordinance, definitively uses p for the sound midway between p and b; the spoken sound ng is now also written out (Formerly it was simply g). "Tonga Government Gazette" /cited in English/, March 31, 1943).

with approximately 256 square kilometers and Vava'u with approximately 89 square kilometers. (3)

3. Wood, loc. cit. p. 96, 99.2 square miles for Tongatapu; p. 104, 34.6 square miles for 'Uta Vava'u.

133 The inhabited islands of the Archipelago, which is partly of volcanic, partly of coral origin, and extends mainly in a north-northeast, south-southwest direction, are mostly coral limestone formations and were formed through the elevation of atolls or barrier reefs. Geographically and administratively they are divided into the three main groups of Tongatapu (in the south) with the "capital city" of Nuku'alofa, Ha'apai (in the center) with the main harbor Pangai on Lifuka, and Vava'u (in the north) with the main harbor of Neiafu; far to the north lie Niua Fo'ou (evacuated in December 1946 because of a

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142. The former tapa clothing simply wore out and was replaced by new clothing.

the Tongan women have become most adept at sewing. In tailoring and sewing (especially with the help of hand sewing machines) they achieve astonishing skill. In the task of laundering, the Polynesian feeling for cleanliness can fully unfold; often vala, shirts and dresses that have been worn only once disappear in the zinc tubs where, amidst a great expenditure of curd soap, without previous soaking, often only in lukewarm water, they are scrubbed clean on glass and zinc washboards, an abuse which most clothing can withstand for only a limited time. Most Tongan women seem to be on a war path with mending; for all too often the progressive deterioration of their albeit always clean clothing goes on unchecked, and the ragged thing is (tardily) replaced by something new--as was formerly the case with tapa. However, as has been mentioned, there is a difference to be noted between the small islands and the seaports; the clothing in the latter seems better cared for. 296 [184]

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The European-Christian influence on children's clothing has been less persistent. Referring to ancient Tongans, Mariner said that children up to about two years were unclothed in the house, (143)

● [114] 143. J. Martin loc. cit. II. p. 347; it is not clear whether this note applied only to the families of chiefs or to commoners as well.

and Dumont d'Urville reported that boys went about naked for a long time, though little girls were apt to be clothed, (144)

144. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78.

whereas in 1857 the Mission announced that "the youngest Christian child...(wore) white tapa around its hips." (145)

145. Geschichte der christlichen Missionen... /History of Christian Missions/ loc. cit. p. 41.

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765 among commoners, whether or not they will link the festival with the
565 burial of their dead (they may not, for example, because of poverty
574 or because the one who was buried was not a close relative). Thus
784 it may happen that the eldest of the family, after /90/ the pit has
been covered over, will briefly announce that there will be no kava-drinking or earth-oven meal and no noise or work taboo. (260)

(114) 260. On January 5, 1952, on Nomuka, the author experienced the burial of a woman who had been isolated because of a serious case of tuberculosis and who subsequently died; in accordance with the wish of her relatives, no festivity and no work stoppage were observed. Again, after the death of an old man on February 2, 1952, on the same island, the work- and noise- taboo were dispensed with.

It is possible that here we find indications of a beginning decline in ancient customs.

764 Thus, in the sphere of death and burial we must also recognize
765 that the Tongan have by no means been immune to European influences,
177 some of which they adopted and combined with their old traditions, so
178 that here we experience a fusion of ancient Tongan with European
/tradition/, which, as a cultural function, entirely satisfies the needs of the community in the crisis of death, and in which everything is felt to be natural, not foreign, especially since the present older generation was born into the change, which had in essence already taken
[565] place. Here too, as in the case of the wedding, (261)

261. Compare pp. 116-119.

the liberation of commoners contributed to the preservation and vitalization of ancient tradition by making more elaborate use, as far as possible, of mats and tapa, and by decorating the graves, often like those of chiefs. (262)

262. For example, black pebbles were formerly

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Literature Review

114 [127] Few research projects of this type, on a regional scale or limited to Tonga, have been initiated in the Pacific islands. A search through numerous texts and bibliographic materials, among other possible sources of information, supports this conclusion. Organizational work with regard to population and agricultural development in the Pacific islands has been conducted by several international groups. Most notable among these are (1) the World Health Organization, (2) the Food and Agricultural Organization, (3) the Offices of the United Nations, including the United Nations' Children's Fund, and (4) the South Pacific Commission.

The South Pacific Commission and the World Health Organization have been the most active, producing at least 16 technical reports dealing with agriculture, population distribution, and nutritional difficulties through 1970. However, only three of these treat Pacific island populations and their food production agriculture, and none treat Tonga specifically. These papers are *Chemical Composition of South Pacific Foods* (Peters 1957), *Dietary and Nutritional Problems in the Pacific* (Massal 1954), and *Some Food Problems in the Pacific Islands* (McKee 1957).

In addition to international work, several nations have conducted work in the South Pacific. French research has been confined primarily to French Polynesia, New Caledonia and the New Hebrides. However, a brief nutritional survey prepared in Tonga is one of few such reports stressing the dangers of a growing dependency upon imported foodstuffs (Hansell 1962).

In the United States, the National Research Council has conducted some research in Micronesia, Samoa, and Hawaii but none of significance in Tonga. More significant has been the work carried out through the University of Hawaii, the Hawaii Agricultural Experimental Station and the East-West Study Center in Honolulu. Notable research by these groups include the determination of food values in native diets, determination of nitrogen and protein balances in native groups, and the utilization of macro and micro nutrients in island populations (Peters 1957; Murai et al. 1958). In addition, extensive research has been conducted with regard to crop production, crop disease, and pest control (McKee 1957; Paine 1964; Watson 1956). Urbanization has also received increased attention in the past decade due to the continued development of this phenomenon among Pacific island populations (Urban Problems . . ., 1967; Urbanization . . ., 1962; Harr'e 1973; Horine 1967).

Individual research efforts in Tonga are also limited. The most notable example is a doctoral thesis, "Population, Land and Livelihood in Tonga" (Maude 1965). Another example is an economic analysis of Tonga by T. F. Kennedy (1961). In both cases, population expansion and pressure upon a limited amount of available

114 agricultural land was found to be one of the more serious issues facing Tonga's future.

With regard to population expansion and the pressure of numbers upon agricultural land within the South Pacific, work has been published since the period of European exploration. Most notable among these are the narratives of James Cook. However, until recently, such research treated only two general themes. First, the process of depopulation brought about through European contact and the spread of common European diseases, such as measles and the flu, was examined (Friis 1967; Roberts 1927; Pacific Islands . . ., 1944). This subject has been treated not only with regard to the Pacific island populations, but other cultures as well. One such reference work is the series by J. M. May: The Ecology of Malnutrition and Studies in Disease Ecology (May 1961a, 1961b).

Second, research has examined the recovery Pacific populations have made during the post-World War II period (Great Britain Colonial Office 1956-64; Roberts 1927). Therefore, little attention has been paid to intra-regional population characteristics, including migration and the chaos wrought by combatants of World War II upon native cultures. In the postwar period, more interest has been directed toward the Pacific peoples in terms of population outstripping sustaining capacities of agriculture and natural resources, on isolated islands or groups of islands. However, as mentioned, little work has been conducted on a regional basis, considering the agricultural and nutritional consequences of continued development in the Pacific. This has been particularly true in terms of population

114 growth and movement, food production and the rise of tertiary industries.

Research Methods

121 Based upon the hypothesis of this study, three major divisions of research were discerned. First, the degree of population increase and the growth of urbanization was measured. This involved analysis of Tongan population data from the last thirty years (post-World War II).

Second, the changes in the agricultural profile of the nation were investigated. This involved a brief sequence occupancy survey in which the historical expansion of population onto agricultural land and the development of the traditional Tongan farm system ('api) was traced. In addition, a determination of the growth of cash cropping and the changing agricultural profile of rural Tonga was necessary. From these data, a pattern of population pressure upon agricultural resources was developed. Furthermore, any change in the purchasing power of rural Tongans was noted. This change proved to be (1) a decline in the support capacity of the land because of increasing population, resulting in land abandonment and poverty migration to the urban area, or (2) an increase in purchasing power and subsequent moves to the more attractive urban environment.

125 [121] Third, once the pattern of urbanization was established, it was necessary to examine the food intake and basic nutritional status of the urban population, especially children. Two methods developed included a survey of available foods within the urban area,

own people, and finds sufficient employment in attending to his 643
duties as King without meddling in trade. He is one of the best [439]
sailors among the Tongaese, and has frequently shown remarkable [157]
coolness and presence of mind in situations of danger. When we
were at Tongatabu he was about to build a jetty over the reef at
the anchorage. He does not smoke, and his example is generally 276
followed by his people, smoking being considered as a mark of
dissipation. At one time, however, it prevailed to a great extent, [643]
nearly every man and woman, and even many children, smoking [178]
whenever they could get tobacco. The use of it is discouraged [177]
by the missionaries, but I imagine that some of the natives still
secretly indulge in it, for while I was sketching one day a young [747]
woman came up to me, and, first looking cautiously around,
inquired in a confidential whisper if I had any tobacco, at the same
time showing me a short black pipe.

Canoes.—The model exhibited will serve to show the construction 501
of these better than any description. They are steered with
a large paddle on the lee quarter, and it will be seen that the
lower part or foot of the sail is secured to a spar in the same manner
as the sails of the "America" yacht. King George's canoe
is 90 feet long, the sail being 90 feet high and 60 feet wide at the
top. These large double canoes will carry as many as 200 men.

In 1847 King George, fearing that the French might interfere 643
with him, wrote a letter to the governor of New Zealand, requesting 648
that he might with his people be received as subjects of the
British crown.

I would venture to remark that it must be of advantage to cultivate 000
friendly relations with the inhabitants of all such islands as
are desirous of being connected with us, more especially as it may
be very desirable to form depôts for our steamers at some of the
islands. It has been exceedingly difficult for me to draw a line 121
between the geographical and the ethnological in this paper, as
they are so intimately connected; but I trust by this simple narration,
illustrated by the pencil, that many, who would have no taste
for a voyage of 12,000 or 15,000 miles, will in some measure
realize the condition of our antipodean fellow men; and it is to be
hoped that in a comparatively few years the connexion existing
between our Australian colonies and the mother country may also
include these beautiful and fertile islands.

Sailing Directions for entering Tongatabu.

HAVING no map of Tongatabu, or any knowledge of the place, we were in doubt 122
as to which was the proper entrance to the anchorage, and the following sailing 114
directions were afterwards kindly given me by Mr. May, master of the Meander,
as the result of his observation upon going in.

When the northern point of Eua bears S., steer direct for the small island of Eua 131
Eki, on nearing which several small islets will be observed immediately to the 133

104: Hornell E,N-5 (1925) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

String Figures From Fiji and Western Polynesia

By James Hornell

INTRODUCTION

SCOPE AND PURPOSE

101 The string figures described in this paper were collected in 1925
122 during an expedition to central and western Polynesia and to Fiji, carried
out under the auspices and with the financial assistance of the Percy Sladen
122 Trust, whose generosity has made possible many extensive researches. To the Trustees and to the friends whose counsel and assistance in preparing for the expedition were of inestimable value, I tender grateful thanks. My obligations to Dr. A. C. Haddon and to Professor C. G. Seligman in particular are specially heavy. Neither must I omit to express my indebtedness to Ratu Pope e Seniloli, grandson of King Thakombau of Fiji, the present Vunivalu and Chieftain of Mbau; also to the Reverend John Hevea of Tongatabu; without their assistance my collection of Fijian and Tongan string figures would have been greatly reduced in number and in value.

101 The island groups visited included the Marquesas, the Society Islands,
121 Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji. Other lines of inquiry monopolized attention
during the time spent in the Marquesas and Society islands, but a few
126 important figures were picked up in Tahiti. Another consideration against
121 devoting time to this subject in the Marquesas and Society islands was
the knowledge that Willowdean C. Handy had already made a collection
126 of these games during a long stay in this locality and would shortly pub-
114 lish them (10).[1] I now regret this calculated neglect, for I find that one only of the 5 figures I obtained in Tahiti is represented in Handy's collection of 25 from the Society Islands, and even in this, the method of working is so different as to entitle it to be considered a distinct game. This demonstrates alike the wonderful wealth of these Oceanic islands in this form of human ingenuity and the practical difficulty of any one individual being able to make a complete collection of the games now or recently known to the people of any particular island group.

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[1] The numbers in parentheses refer to the bibliography on page 88.

[p. 3]